

# Correspondence

## Impressions Abroad

**EDITOR:** Congratulations to Robert Ostermann on his perceptive "Letter to a Foreign Student" (9/3). On my return two years ago from an extended tour in the Far East, I felt strongly the appalling lack of courtesy and sensitivity in our society. His wife's reaction to supermarkets rang a familiar bell. We too have felt repelled by the impersonal efficiency of those cheerless, cellophane voids. A fitting symbol of the dehumanization that has overtaken us is the printed "Thank You" you get from a grim cashier at the checking counter.

JAMES J. COX

New York, N. Y.

## Liberals Today

**EDITOR:** I agree with Raymond E. Bayless Jr. (9/3, p. 585) that a political philosophy embracing the concepts he ascribes to conservatism should not be dismissed simply as one dismisses the Old Guard. But I do not agree that these concepts are the conservative's exclusive property. They are so when taken narrowly in relation to man's individual nature alone. But on the American political scene, it is the recognition of the social implications of such truths that distinguishes the liberal from the conservative.

RICHARD MCSORLEY, S.J.

Scranton, Pa.

## Ample Guide

**EDITOR:** Thank you for your notice in *On All Horizons* (8/27) concerning the new 1960 *Official Guide to Catholic Educational Institutions and Religious Communities*. I was somewhat surprised, however, that your notice accented financial aid. This is but an incidental feature of the volume. Its fundamental purpose is to supply full information on all Catholic colleges, schools of nursing and secondary boarding schools. The *Guide* also lists all religious orders and gives the admission requirements, purposes, programs of training, etc., for each.

JOSEPH C. KOECHEL  
Publisher, *Official Guide to  
Catholic Educational Institutions*

New York, N. Y.

## Who Is Guilty?

**EDITOR:** I fail to see that you enlighten your readers by commenting, in "Culprit in the Congo?" (8/27), that "the Congo

has manifested anything but the maturity one expects of a country ready for independence," without some further word of explanation as to why the Congolese show no such maturity.

If Belgium "can present a strong case in defense of its actions of recent weeks in its former colony," I also fail to see how it can justify its previous 75 years of rule in that colony, insofar as the end of that rule finds the formerly colonized nation almost totally unequipped to govern itself.

As *Commonweal* states, "there were no doctors, lawyers, engineers or army officers; every department of Government was run by Belgians; transportation, communications, business and industry—all were directed and maintained by Bel-

gians." The *Atlantic* asserts that not till 1958 did a single Congolese graduate from Louvain, Belgium's outstanding university.

Patrice Lumumba is making about every mistake in the book, and his country is splitting at the seams, but I find it difficult to take the side of a Belgian Government which from many aspects shares responsibility for the terrors and atrocities of the *Force publique* and others in the past month.

JAMES H. BOWMAN, S.J.  
West Baden College  
West Baden Springs, Ind.

## Numbers of Vocations

**EDITOR:** A recent news release states that 16.5 per cent of the boys and 9.7 per cent of the girls in U. S. parochial junior high schools aspire to religious vocations. This distribution is a reversal of the proportion of priests and brothers to sisters. There are almost three sisters in our religious com-

(Continued on p. 688)

Joseph B. Schuyler, S.J.

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munities for each priest and brother. Are there reasons for what seems to be a new trend of aspirants to religious vocations? Will the ranks of our sisters diminish in the near future?

ALOYSIUS BRADLEY

New York, N. Y.

### Buy Compacts?

EDITOR: In his interesting letter (8/27, p. 565), John F. Wagner states that "primary domestic markets have been cut into and secondary markets (e.g., automobile production) are feeling the pinch simply because tariff restrictions have been lowered to allow foreign manufacturers with cheap labor to produce a product equal to ours." I agree with Mr. Wagner insofar as steel is concerned. This is also true of such things as textiles and ready-made wear. However, in the case of automobiles, the problem is somewhat different.

As the owner of both domestic and foreign automobiles for a good many years, I can state that the main reason why people buy foreign automobiles is that domestic manufacturers do not make anything like the product offered by foreign manufacturers. Thus the so-called compacts do not even begin to compare with such automobiles as the Volkswagen and the Dauphine when it comes to true compactness and real economy of operation. Neither is there anything in the line of sport cars that has any similarity to the MG and the Triumph, not to mention the Austin-Healey. The only domestic sport car is the Corvette, and it is a much larger and heavier machine than the three cars I have mentioned.

GILBERT C. DELVAILLE  
Riverside, Calif.

### Instant Reader

EDITOR: To few things on the modern scene have I thrilled as I did to your saying (9/3, p. 592) that President Jefferson was better informed than President Eisenhower because the news got to his desk after a long span of weeks whereas President Eisenhower is belabored by its instant hammering. It recalled Chesterton's saying that the man who does most for his century is the one who knows least about his day.

Why don't you try to find the four or five other people in the country who believe this and form a group to work out some of the thrilling implications of your statement? It would make a fine Catholic Action cell. It might even add something toward making daily Mass among our people as common as daily news.

(REV.) WILLIAM J. HALLIWELL  
Newark, N. J.

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SIUS BRADLEY

# Editorials

## No Time for Anger

Nobody enjoys the experience of being proved wrong. And we were proved wrong. We predicted (AM. 3/5, p. 675 ff.) that 1960 would not be 1928 all over again. But here we are, apparently right back where we were 32 years ago. So many people hoped against hope that it wouldn't happen. But it has. As Fr. John Courtney Murray, internationally known scholar in Church-State questions, remarks elsewhere in this issue, anti-Catholicism is as "poisonously alive" today as it has ever been in our history.

The Presidential campaign is hardly off the ground. Yet we find that already the entire field of rational discussion of the really crucial problems and issues of our time is sown with the noxious tares of bigotry. Bogus oaths, vicious little screeds, books by "ex-priests" passing from hand to hand—all the ancient paraphernalia of the oldest American prejudice (See Brother La Salle Woelfel's article and graph, p. 700): we reluctantly anticipated some of this distracting and foolish sort of thing in certain areas of the South. But now to discover, spread all over the front pages of the nation's newspapers, the bigoted pseudo-urbanities that Dr. Norman Vincent Peale and some of his colleagues have chosen to exploit, is cause for profound dismay.

With former President Truman, we are "disappointed" in Dr. Peale. We regret that he and Dr. Daniel A. Poling have been maneuvered into a position where they could be used as a respectable front for the theologically bankrupt Protestant "underworld" of bigotry. We note the strange, almost furtive atmosphere in which the Peale group has been organized; the unavailability of its leaders and "inspirers" for clarification of its objectives; the lack of frankness about membership and the source of its funds; the derogatory references to a renowned Protestant leader whose conspicuous absence from the closed meeting of the Peale organization was pointed out by the press; finally, the part played in the whole affair by spokesmen for a discredited group of Washington lobbyists known as Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (POAU).

It is not our purpose to dishonor Dr. Peale. He and Dr. Poling are well-known Protestant clergymen. Frequently in the past they have attempted to address themselves in charity and with a sense of common purpose to the problems that concern all religious men in our pluralistic society. This is what makes it so hard for us to comprehend the new alliances they seem to have contracted with elements in their own communion—and outside it—for whom it would seem they could have no conceivable feeling of kinship. The tragedy is that they appear to have dishonored themselves.

No Catholic in his right mind will trouble to "an-

swer" Dr. Peale's allegations against the Church to which the Democratic candidate for the Presidency belongs. There can and should be no reply to questions formulated by the group with which Dr. Peale and Dr. Poling have joined forces. The public record of this group (POAU) makes it perfectly clear that the sort of Protestant-Catholic dialogue which is possible and often most fruitful with others (See Fr. Bernard Leeming's report, in this issue of AMERICA, on his participation as an observer at the meetings of the World Council of Churches) is quite impossible with the affiliates of POAU. In the contracted, POAU world of controversy—where, as Dr. John C. Bennett, dean of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, expresses it, there exists "no understanding of the inner dynamics of the Roman Catholic Church"—one searches in vain for the solid ground of reason, historical perspective, realism and common sense on which a dialogue might be constructed. One cannot debate the so-called religious issue with men of this stamp.

Honest and profitable discussion of the bearing of the religious faith of a candidate for the Presidency on the actual exercise of his office can indeed be conducted. Moreover, it can be thrashed out without introducing a religious test for public office. This becomes clear from some enlightening examples in this issue of AMERICA (p. 693 ff.). Robert Hoyt raises the religious issue, and his views are criticized by a panel of five other thoughtful citizens of all faiths.

The saddest thing about Dr. Peale's incursion into national politics on this level is that he is bound to divert needed energies and precious time into totally unprofitable channels of ignorant, enervating and bigoted controversy. The problems to which he calls attention are pseudo-problems. Yet their unfortunate capacity for distracting and misleading even the intelligent citizen is so great that they tend to drive the real problems off the limited horizons of public attention.

Today there are so many other, truly important issues. Khrushchev is coming to the United Nations to conduct his mammoth and ominous propaganda show. Castro of Cuba is slipping daily deeper into the Red net, and his defection from the West poses immense problems for the continued security of our hemisphere. The Congo is burning with the hot fevers of anarchy and war. Space, nuclear tests, disarmament and a hundred other dilemmas of the beleaguered free world demand the full attention of our two Presidential candidates and of every individual citizen. But now, thanks in large part to the heedless initiatives of Dr. Peale and his POAU associates, we are condemned to weeks of wrangling over questions which, because framed in a

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spirit of political and religious ignorance, cannot be answered. They cannot even be discussed rationally with those who ask them.

Fr. Murray speaks of "old Catholic angers," and hopes they will not rise. All of us, we are sure, share that hope. True, U. S. Catholics are sick and tired of this old, old game of being badgered by the prejudices of an ignorant and irrational nativism. But we are not going to yield to anger. This is a time, as George Kelley puts it so felicitously in the title of his article (p. 698), for the keeping on of shirts. Dr. Peale and Dr. Poling would look a lot more dignified today if they hadn't taken theirs off.

## On Religious Toleration

THERE ARE at least three broad indictments that are commonly leveled against the Catholic Church on the matter of religious toleration. They turn up so frequently in books and periodical literature that they may rightly be called an essential part of the folklore of bigotry against the Church in America. The three following charges are offered as proof that Catholicism, despite the disclaimers of Popes, bishops, clergy and lay apologists, stands self-condemned as the exponent of medieval intolerance.

1. The position of the Catholic Church on toleration is a simple program of political expediency, apparently bolstered up by dogma but patently aimed at Catholic domination of civil society everywhere. This position can be adequately summed up in the cynical formula (falsely) attributed to the Catholic apologist Louis Veuillot: "When we are a minority, we claim freedom for ourselves in the name of your principles of tolerance; when we are a majority, we deny freedom to you in the name of our own principles."

2. The Catholic policy on toleration has the status of defined dogma. It is a rigid and unalterable doctrine that enshrines the Church's historical determination to subject Caesar to the papacy and to scorn the rights of conscience. This harsh policy is a sure guide for understanding the future course of the Church as well as for assessing papal intolerance in the past.

3. The Church's program contains an ominous threat to the United States in particular, if Catholics ever form a majority of the population. When that day comes, Vatican pressures, added to the power thrust of an ambitious and unpatriotic American hierarchy, will immediately manipulate the ballot box for the sake of extirpating "heresy." The religious clauses of the First Amendment will be revoked and the United States ideal of Church-State relations will be replaced by an unnatural union of commonwealth and papacy.

An editorial aimed at accentuating the *positive* cannot dally over the negative aspects of the enormously complex problem of Church-State relations. The problem is one that involves abstract ethical and political and theological principles, as well as concrete considerations of jurisprudence, compromise and expediency that stretch over a multitude of social institutions

operating in a framework of two millennia of history. Needless to add, it is also a problem whose partial and imperfect solutions have been deeply affected by religious and political loyalties. Seldom indeed have laymen or ecclesiastics been able to approach the problem of Church-State relations except in an atmosphere charged with suspicion, bias or even outright hatred. All these factors have created raw conflict in the past, and even at this hour they make rational dialogue difficult between Americans who, whatever their religious commitments, seek a formula for "peaceful coexistence" in a pluralistic environment.

Despite these difficulties, we cannot pass up the opportunity to outline the basic concepts that underlie the broad Catholic position on religious toleration. An understanding of these concepts is essential to any fruitful discussion of more elaborated Catholic attitudes. Perhaps too, in a further development, we can essay a somewhat novel attempt to cut the Gordian knot of misunderstanding that makes it so difficult for those not of our faith to acquire a sympathetic appreciation of the Catholic position.

### KINDS OF TOLERATION

We must begin by describing toleration and some of its pertinent forms.

Toleration in general is the forbearance we show to something we regard as evil or inadequate, but which we are unable or unwilling to do away with. Religious toleration is that magnanimity we show toward those of another faith, determining to leave it and its believers untroubled even though we are convinced they profess what is false.

Rather obviously, it is essential to make a distinction between religious error and the person erring. Our attitude toward error in itself is one that must be guided by the just submission of the mind to the claims of what is objectively true. On the other hand, our dealings with those we hold to be in error must be controlled by justice and charity, respect for the sacredness of the human person and even the responsibility we all have of giving due recognition to the common needs of human society. These remarks indicate that we must carefully note the difference between *theoretical dogmatic tolerance* and *practical civic tolerance* (whether this latter is exercised by the individual or the organized community).

The Catholic position on theoretical dogmatic toleration is simple: no man, be he doctor, lawyer or Indian chief, can defend this sort of tolerance if he has any regard for truth. Theoretical dogmatic tolerance is nothing else than the affirmation that truth and error are of equal value in a universe where truth, religious or otherwise, either does not exist or is unattainable. If God is eternal Truth, and if He has endowed the mind with a natural inclination to attain His Truth insofar as it is mirrored in creation, then adherence to truth is a universal ethical duty. In this sense, indeed, "error has no right to exist," nor can man's psychological freedom to err be construed as a God-given right to be in the wrong. No sound concept of human liberty

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can confound this precious prerogative with the license to pursue falsity, either intellectual or moral. The perfection of man's development cannot lie along a road that deviates from eternal Truth and Law; it must be sought in conformity with them.

With logical consistency, therefore, the Catholic Church is unqualifiedly intolerant toward what it believes to be erroneous in faith and morals. For here, above all, is the field where error can jeopardize the salvation of the human soul. Moreover, this is the field in which the Church holds itself uniquely qualified to instruct humanity. For the Catholic Church, religious truth is one, not multiple; the Church alone possesses the full deposit of that truth by divine revelation, together with a divine commission to teach it to all men. It follows as a consequence that in order to be faithful to its essential constitution, the Catholic Church cannot concede that other faiths are theoretically justifiable; hence dogmatic intolerance in matters of religious truth is not merely a right but a sacred duty. Non-Catholics may find the thesis unpalatable, but the Catholic Church cannot reject it except at the cost of itself turning Protestant.

#### PRACTICAL TOLERATION

The circumstances are quite different when we deal with practical human situations, and more perplexing too. It may be entirely proper to refute error, wherever it appears. But it may be entirely wrong to assault the mind and heart in which error resides, whether or not the error is held in good faith. For when we confront human persons, we are never at liberty to disregard the principles of justice and charity: the inviolability of personality gives a new dimension to the dialogue on toleration.

Even more, when we consider human beings as grouped into the social entities called states, the application of the principles of toleration demands careful estimation of the claims of the common welfare. For the requirements of the temporal welfare of the community, in the Catholic theory of the state, are not only the supreme norm of what is necessary and permissible in the political order, but are themselves a divine imperative no less compelling than the Saviour's commission to the Church.

In the discussion of toleration, therefore, it must not be overlooked that the state is a natural institution demanded by natural law for the legitimate satisfaction of human needs, and therefore possessing, like the Church itself, a divinely appointed purpose. It would be anomalous indeed if the Church, professing to serve God's will, were to feel free to tamper with the common good of the state in the interests of ecclesiastical suzerainty or a unity of religious profession.

Let us now indicate the substance of practical civil toleration at the private and public level.

Natural law commands us to give our fellow man that esteem and respect which we ask for ourselves. The Christian dispensation has not revoked this law, but has rather elevated it to the universal law of charity. Therefore, according to right reason as well as

common Christian belief, it is wrong to invade the sacred precincts of the inviolable conscience of men and attempt to coerce them into conformity of belief, no matter what their errors may be. God Himself does not do it; neither has He made such a grant to men as individuals or in groups. Faith itself springs from a confrontation of the divine and human in which God takes the initiative, but in which man is free to accept or reject the gift. That is precisely why the Church, in its Canon Law, forbids the bestowal of baptism on an adult against his will. A humanly imposed faith is a hollow mockery. It cannot advance the cause of religion because it is grounded on slavish fear or hypocrisy. It cannot please God because He asks the homage of a sincere heart.

If the attempt to coerce the religious alien has ever been made in the past, the guilt, formal or material, is shared by forefathers of every religious persuasion, not just by Catholics. Over the centuries, the cries of "papists," together with the screams of "heretics," have ascended to the throne of our Father under the torture of the rack, the screw and the stake. No denomination holds a monopoly on inhumanity or infidelity to the spirit of the Gospel. But if our fathers ate wild grapes, should our teeth today be set on edge? The fact is that in the teachings of Christianity there is nothing to justify the forcible imposition of a religious faith upon a human person whose dispositions of conscience and responses to grace are known to God alone.

As for the nature of practical public toleration, which is our chief concern here, it may be described as that exercise of political wisdom whereby the civil community, in seeking the social good of peace, not only recognizes the right of every citizen to make a sincere interior commitment of faith, but also leaves everyone free to give that faith a suitable external profession and cultus, subject to the essential requirements of public order and morality.

#### BASIS OF CIVIL TOLERATION

If we confine our attention to this broad ground of principle, it cannot be argued that the Catholic Church is opposed to practical public toleration, above all in the religiously pluralistic and constitutionally structured civil societies which are the emerging political pattern of modern times. The general form in the argument favoring such toleration is readily expressed, and our readers can find it rather fully developed by Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro, Archbishop of Bologna, in the *Catholic Mind* for January-February, 1960. We will indicate the main points in the next paragraph.

Tolerance on the political level finds its basis in the analogy between human law and the divine law that governs the universe. Although God is all-powerful and sovereignly good, He permits the occurrence of evil in the world. He does so in order that the suppression of evil may not entail the suppression of greater goods or even beget worse evils. But what better model can be found for human law than the divine government which it should imitate? It appears, therefore, that the repression of error, even in matters of religion, is not

a good to be sought or achieved at all costs. In a definite historical context, the good of unity in faith may inevitably take second place to the common good of all the members of the commonwealth, simply because the benefits of religious unity cannot be attained without disastrously fracturing the bond of social fellowship.

In sum, therefore, the Catholic attitude toward practical religious toleration, private and public, can be said to be contained in the parable of the wheat and the cockle (Mt. 13:24-30). It was not the will of the householder that his servants should gather the weeds, lest in doing so they should also root up the wheat; both were to be permitted to grow until the time of harvesting.

#### DIFFICULTY OF APPLICATION

So much then for the general principles that cover the abstract and practical aspects of religious toleration. All will grant that their application is difficult, and, to confine our attention to Catholicism, we will grant that in the long course of history they have been applied to real-life situations with limited consistency and wisdom. There have been Popes who were politically ambitious, theologians who were narrowly partisan, canonists who were too much influenced by the force of ancient customs. And since, after the Reformation, many Protestants have been on the "receiving end" of what impresses them, often justly, as Catholic bigotry, it is no wonder that they view with suspicion the actual attitudes of the Church toward religious toleration. They sometimes feel that the honeyed words about principles are given the lie by the record of the past and the thrust toward the future.

We will not advance the peaceful dialogue on toleration, it is to be feared, by airing ancient ills whose very recital evokes the uneasy ghosts of mistrust and prejudice. The grosser aspects of the Inquisition are no longer with us, but some of the odor remains, and so it is with many another difficulty that is cast up before us. If our non-Catholic brethren are to entertain any sympathetic appreciation of the new winds that are blowing through the fields of Catholic thinking on the pragmatic aspects of religious toleration, we must endeavor to make a fresh start toward the communication of understanding. We must find a way of establishing the general attitude of the Catholic Church that bypasses the moldy heaps of mistrust and suspicion that have accumulated from the past.

Is it possible to cut the Gordian knot in this fashion and thus offer a less controversial basis for discussion of the divisive issue of toleration? We believe that such an approach is possible and that it will appeal to men of good will everywhere. The new basis is to be found in an important address of Pope Pius XII (*Pope Pius XII on the World Community*, The America Press, 25¢).

The late Pontiff was much preoccupied with the need of establishing a truly juridic world community among the society of nations. More than once, in his public addresses, he spoke of a higher community of men,

"willed by the Creator and rooted in the unity of their common origin, nature and final destiny." In such a community of peoples, each sovereign state was conceived as enjoying the rights dictated by nature itself, but within a framework of international law that was to possess universal validity.

While granting the difficulties and complexities that mankind would face in setting up such an organization, Pius XII did not hesitate to advance a *theoretical principle of harmonization* (Italics here and below are ours, not those of the Pope). He expounded it in the document named above, which was addressed to the Fifth National Convention of the Union of Italian Jurists on December 6, 1953:

Within the limits of the possible and lawful, to promote everything that facilitates union and makes it more effective; to remove everything that disturbs it; to tolerate at times that which it is impossible to correct but which, on the other hand, must not be permitted to make shipwreck of the community from which a higher good is hoped for.

Following this, the Pope proceeded to discuss the specific problem of protecting religion and morality in a world community whose member-states ran through the spectrum of belief from Christianity to professed atheism. In this matter, of which a partial aspect is the "practical coexistence of Catholic with non-Catholic states," Pius XII proposed a *positive law of religious toleration* which was to be given world-wide validity and force:

Within its own territory and for its own citizens, each state will regulate religious and moral affairs by its own laws. Nevertheless, throughout the whole territory of the international community of states, the citizens of every member-state will be allowed the exercise of their own beliefs and ethical and religious practices, insofar as these do not contravene the penal laws of the state in which they are residing.

#### NORM OF THE COMMON GOOD

In justifying this sweeping concession to the claims of religious pluralism in a world community of states, Pius XII reviewed the traditional principles of religious toleration that we outlined in the earlier part of this editorial and raised the *crucial question*:

Could it be that in certain circumstances He (God) would not give men any mandate, would not impose any duty, and *would not even communicate the right* to impede or to repress what is erroneous and false?

To this question the Pope gave an affirmative answer: "Such a command is unknown to the common convictions of mankind, to Christian conscience, to the sources of revelation and to the practice of the Church."

The reason why the late Pontiff could commit himself so strongly to this position is to be found in what we emphasized in an earlier part of this essay: the duty of repressing religious and moral error is not valid absolutely and unconditionally, even though the Church has a divine mandate to "draw to herself and

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bind together in religious unity the men of all races and of all times." Therefore, without prejudice to the duty of theoretical dogmatic intolerance, the Pope recognized the necessity of the *norm of the common good* for the resolution of questions of fact in the existential order of pluralistic communities:

The duty of repressing moral and religious error cannot therefore be an ultimate norm of action. It must be subordinated to *higher and more general* norms, which *in some circumstances* permit, and even perhaps seem to indicate as the better policy, toleration of error in order to promote a *greater good*. (In this quotation the italics are those of Pius XII.)

The greater good under discussion, of course, is that tremendous complex of spiritual and temporal goods which on the one hand embraces the welfare of the Church and State in every individual commonwealth, and on the other, the well-being of the universal Church and of the nascent world community internationally organized along juridic lines.

#### A MAGNA CARTA OF LIBERTY

Faced then with an opportunity for soliciting the interest and cooperation of many experts in outlining a better future for all men, so grievously divided by innumerable conflicts, Pope Pius XII offered for juridic exploration and implementation a Magna Carta of Religious Liberty that is surely deserving of sympathy. And in proposing his plan, which he insisted was in accord with traditional principles, he did not hesitate to add that "no other norms are valid for the Church except the norms we have just indicated for the Catholic jurist and statesman."

Surely these forthright statements of a recent and most respected Pope should comfort those who are troubled with an obsessive fear that the Church entertains gross political designs upon the nations or upon the American political system in particular. In fact, it is quotations such as the above, together with others that might be drawn from the modern Popes beginning with Leo XIII, that will form the nucleus of a practical theology of toleration and of freedom of conscience that is applicable to the changing conditions of our time.

Such a theology of toleration must be rooted in the unchanging principles of the faith as well as in the constant elements of natural law. But its elaboration is essentially a human work that adapts principles to the ever-changing exigencies of the real order. Such an elaboration must also take into account the development of theological doctrine and our growing knowledge of natural law. Modern understanding of the dignity and inviolability of human personality, for example, was only implicit in much of our early Christian thinking, despite the teachings of Christ and the speculations of Greek philosophers.

How slowly Christians came to an understanding of the wickedness of human slavery! And to transfer the issue momentarily from the field of religion, how late did we in America awaken to the evils of racial segre-

## Campaign Guidelines

From the "Statement on Religious Liberty in Relation to the 1960 National Campaign," published September 12, 1960, and signed by 100 distinguished Americans.

**W**E BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MEMBERS OF OUR VARIOUS RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS TO OPPOSE VIGOROUSLY ALL ATTEMPTS TO MAKE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION THE BASIS OF THE VOTER'S CHOICE OF CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE. . . . THAT WE MAY FURTHER THE FULFILLMENT OF OUR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY UNDER GOD, WE SUGGEST . . . GUIDELINES.

¶The exclusion of members of any family of faith from public office on the basis of religious affiliation violates the fundamental conditions of a free democratic society. . . .

¶The religious faith of a public officer is relevant to the conduct of his office. . . .

¶No citizen in public office dare be false either to his conscience or to his oath of office. . . .

¶The fact that a major religious group has so far never furnished the nation with a candidate who won election to a particular public office does not obligate the voters to elect a candidate of that faith to that office solely to demonstrate our devotion to democracy. . . .

¶No religious organization should seek to influence and dominate public officials for its own institutional advantage. . . .

¶Every person of every faith must be accorded full religious liberty. . . . No religious group should be given special preference or advantage by the state, nor allowed to use state agencies for the restriction of other faiths.

¶A candidate's faith, and his affirmations of it, as they bear upon his responsibilities in public office, should be viewed in their best light rather than their worst. . . .

¶. . . the public officer after his election is obligated to make his appointments to subordinate positions on a non-discriminatory basis.

¶The President's participation in important national and community religious functions can be a fine symbol. . . . But if for reasons of his own he feels that participation in a particular religious ceremony is not in order, it would be contrary to the civic character of the American Presidency for him to feel obligated to accept the invitation. . . .

¶Every public official . . . should . . . take into consideration the spiritual and moral principles of his faith. . . . But in our pluralistic society he will recognize that the values in historic faiths other than his own must be brought to bear upon the problems of the day.

gation, despite our perfervid dedication to the proposition that all men are created equal! Is it to be any different with regard to the delicate problem of religious toleration?

In this matter, so far as prudent action in the political order is concerned, neither Catholic, Jew or Protestant can claim infallibility. We can all learn from the lessons of the past, and yet, when we improve our performance in the present by wisdom that is acquired through bitter experience, we must ever be ready to make new accommodations to the unfolding challenges of the future.

#### NEED FOR ACCOMMODATION

The theology of toleration, like the canon law of the Church, is never a finished edifice. It is a practical instrument of accommodation to the requirements of the temporal order, grounded indeed on eternal truths, as we said above, but prudently applied to political circumstances. Its aim cannot be political domination of the City of Man. Its aim must be to secure those conditions, personal and public, which will help the Church to establish in the spirit and the heart, in the thoughts and actions of men, the universal reign of Christ. If we misconceive the true nature of such toleration, we are no wiser than those who drove the apostles from the synagogues, and all the while thought they were serving God (John 16:2).

"To work for a fully satisfactory elaboration" of such a theology of toleration, wrote Cardinal Lercaro in the



**No, Not That — Let Me Offer You  
The Intellectual Approach**

article cited above, ". . . constitutes one of the greatest tasks of the modern theologian."

As that theology is developed, it is quite possible that it will be deeply influenced by the success of the pluralistic experiment in the United States. As we all know, the constitutional attitude of the United States on the problem of Church-State relations is embodied in the opening words of the First Amendment.

In the opinion of Fr. John Courtney Murray, S.J., the religious clauses of that Amendment are a legal formulation of the very principles of civic toleration that we have already explained at some length. The First Amendment does not say that there is no distinction between true and false religion, or good and bad morals. But it does say that in this country the public conscience, aware of its moral obligation to social peace and speaking as the voice of God, does not give the Government any mandate, does not impose on it any duty, and does not even communicate to it the right to repress religious beliefs or their free exercise, even though they may be false and erroneous.

#### SUCCESS OF FIRST AMENDMENT

The First Amendment came into being as a practical means of satisfying a compelling social need in a religiously pluralistic society. Nevertheless, if successful experience is a test of a good law, then it must be granted that our American solution to the practical problems of religious toleration has been amazingly successful. Why the American experiment has proven to be a good law was developed at some length by Fr. Murray in "Church, State and Religious Liberty" (*Catholic Mind*, May-June, 1959, pp. 201-215). The points made are of such importance to our argument that we will summarize them here:

1. America has shown the world that political unity and stability are possible without uniformity of religious belief and practice and without the necessity of invoking any governmental restrictions on religion.

2. A lasting consensus on the meaning of the common good and the working out of that agreement on the level of political action have been positively strengthened by the exclusion of religious differences from the area of interest that is proper to our Government.

3. Most striking of all, in the United States the maintenance of our traditional distinction between Church and State has been of benefit to religion, and not least to the Catholic Church itself.

This third point must have been one of the pregnant religious intuitions of John Carroll, who in 1790 became the first Catholic bishop of the United States. Even in the infancy of the Republic he felt that "America may come to exhibit a proof to the world that general and equal toleration, by giving a free circulation to fair argument, is the most effectual method to bring all denominations of Christians to a unity of faith."

Certainly this forthright approval of religious toleration in our land has been one of the undeviating traditions of the American hierarchy, as we emphasize in the editorial that follows this one. Moreover, such approval, stemming from the "ordinary magisterium"

(i.e., legitimate teaching authority) of the Church in America, has never been rebuked by Rome. The fundamental reason for this, of course, is that the First Amendment does not incorporate an ideology that is offensive to the nature of Christianity. It is neither an expression of exaggerated liberalism nor of totalitarian democracy. It is actually a pragmatic political principle that *limits* the jurisdiction of the Government by denying it any competence in the field of religion.

#### ROLE OF AMERICA

In God's providence, then, the American solution to the problem of toleration, together with the hearty commendation that our American bishops have always extended to the First Amendment, may be instrumental in developing the theology of toleration of which we spoke. Could this have been the thought that was behind the words uttered by Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston on January 27, 1958?

We are Catholics living in a definite period of time and in definite circumstances of human existence. We serve the Church best by bringing it into close and active relationship with 20th-century America, even while we remain faithful to the principles which form the timeless constitution of the Church, as Christ our Lord founded it.

Over the course of centuries, various theologians have formulated various theories of what constitutes the ideal relationship between God and Caesar. There is no need to explore those ideals here. Perhaps, because of the destructive influence of Original Sin, a truly ideal relationship would be unattainable, even in a world that was entirely Catholic. Meanwhile, given the emerging pattern of pluralistic societies with written constitutional guarantees, a broad religious toleration may be encouraged as a relatively greater good in the face of pressing situations that deeply concern the social peace of all mankind.

In fact, we may go much further, paraphrasing the article on "Toleration" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. XIV). In these days, religious toleration is a dire necessity and the starting point of political wisdom and justice. Religious liberty is the only possible and hence the only reasonable ideal to pursue. Without it, the rational consensus that is essential to the attainment of the common good in a pluralistic society becomes inconceivable.

We will bring this long discussion to a close by emphasizing three conclusions of our own as a counter to those that were mentioned at the start.

1. Only the most unenlightened opponents of Catholicism will maintain that the Church is so intent on the acquisition of power, spiritual or temporal, that it is ready to outrage human dignity and to sacrifice the common good of everyone on the altar of religious unity.

2. It is unlikely, even in the most favorable circumstances, that the Church would seek to restore the type of union between Church and State that characterized certain periods of history. Such a marriage of the spiritual and secular, it may be argued, is of

doubtful benefit to the cause of Christ. It has been observed long before this that when such a union exists, the Church has thrust upon it the odium of responsibility for the evils of the civil order. Moreover, too close a union encourages tepidity among the ministers of religion and hypocrisy among the laity. What need is there for zeal, when the political apparatus of the state becomes the main instrument for securing all doctrine and morality? What sincerity is there in the hearts of many of the faithful, when the spirit of religion is so nationalized as to confound religious and political loyalties? Finally, as has happened all too often in history, domination of the State by the forces of religion tends to evoke a rivalry between Church and State that ends in the bitterest anticlericalism and the ultimate enslavement of religion itself.

3. With regard to the reactionary influence of a possible Catholic majority on the political structure of the United States, we must observe that the First Amendment, the Constitution and our peculiar form of democracy are safe. It was these blessed things that gave the Church in America the splendid opportunity to develop into one of the most flourishing and promising Catholic communities that has ever existed. We shall do our best to preserve such a precious heritage. If, under God, Catholics ever become a majority in our land, this growth will be one of the fruits of freedom and toleration.

## The Voice of the Church in America

"Do you as a Catholic believe that all Protestants are heretics?" A heckler threw this question at Sen. John F. Kennedy on one of his recent campaign tours. The only answer which would not involve endless misunderstandings was a simple "No." The Senator circumspectly said just that.

But if the state of public enlightenment in this land of ours had permitted it, Senator Kennedy might have given another answer. He might have pointed out that the question was a purely theological one and therefore had no relevance to a political campaign. On that ground he might very properly have refused to reply to the question at all.

Religious beliefs are politically relevant insofar as they affect the civil rights and legitimate interests of other people. The only proper question to address to an office seeker is whether he intends to respect those rights and interests. In the United States, that means asking whether the candidate accepts the First Amendment to the Constitution as his guiding norm in public issues that have a bearing on religion. If he says he does, as Senator Kennedy has, that should put an end to the inquiry.

But, of course, the inquiry—if we may so dignify this pathological kind of nagging—is not at an end. Its real object is not the views of the Senator from Massachusetts.

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sets, but the teaching of the Catholic Church. The premise of the whole "religious issue" is that the American Catholic Church is un-American. The "issue" is in fact an indictment charging that the Church does not sincerely accept the constitutional relationship between the Government and religion as defined in the First Amendment.

In the minds of those who have framed this indictment, no defense will suffice except a renunciation by the Church of her claim to be the uniquely true Church of Christ. But these people go far beyond the Constitution in their demands.

The First Amendment asserts no doctrine as either true or false and requires no act either of belief or disbelief. The Amendment is stated in the imperative, not the indicative, mode: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." These words constitute a prohibition, binding on the Government, not a statement of belief to which all Americans must subscribe. A secularist may support the First Amendment because he believes in the primacy of secular over religious concerns. A Baptist may accept it because he believes in the doctrine of private judgment. But the Catholic Church in the United States accepts the First Amendment for reasons which are compatible with her own doctrine. Nothing more may be required of her.

Those who insist, not only that American Catholics must loyally support the constitutional separation of Church and State, but that they must do so for reasons satisfactory to a Protestant or a secularist conscience, are themselves arrogant and un-American.

But does the Church in the United States really accept the separation of Church and State? This question has been discussed on the theoretical plane in the preceding editorial. But as regards the practical matter of the views of the Catholic Church in the United States, our American bishops have clearly stated their position many times since the foundation of the Republic. Their statements were gathered by Msgr. John Tracy Ellis in an article which appeared in *Harper's* as far back as November, 1953. We quote some of them here.

► In the *Columbian Magazine* of December, 1787, the founder of the American hierarchy, Archbishop John Carroll, said: "Freedom and independence, acquired by the united efforts, and cemented with the mingled blood of Protestant and Catholic fellow citizens, should be equally enjoyed by all."

► In an address before the Hibernian Society of Savannah, Ga., on March 17, 1824, John England, first Bishop of Charleston, exclaimed: "May God long preserve the liberties of America from the union of any church with any state! In any country, with any religion, it is an unnatural increase of the power of the executive against the liberties of the people!"

► In 1843 Archbishop John Hughes of New York stated: "I regard the Constitution of the United States as a monument of wisdom.... Every separate provision of that immortal document is stamped with the features of wisdom; and yet among its wise provisions, what I

regard as the *wisest* of all is the brief, simple, but comprehensive declaration that 'Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'

► In an article in the *North American Review* in 1909, James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, wrote: "American Catholics rejoice in our separation of Church and State; and I can conceive of no combination of circumstances likely to arise which would make a union desirable either to Church or State. We know the blessings of our present arrangement; it gives us liberty and binds together priests and people in a union better than that of Church and State. Other countries, other manners; we do not believe our system adapted to all conditions; we leave it to Church and State in other lands to solve their problems for their own best interests. For ourselves, we thank God we live in America, 'in this happy country of ours,' to quote Mr. [Theodore] Roosevelt, where 'religion and liberty are natural allies'."

► On January 25, 1948, the most authoritative body in the Catholic Church in this country, the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, issued a statement through its chairman, Archbishop John T. McNicholas, which said: "We deny absolutely and without any qualification that the Catholic bishops of the United States are seeking a union of Church and State by any endeavors whatsoever, either proximate or remote. If tomorrow Catholics constituted a majority in our country, they would not seek a union of Church and State.... In complete accord with the Catholic doctrine, we hold firmly that our own constitutional provisions are the best for our country. Even had we the authority to do so, we would not change one iota of them."

► Since the publication of Msgr. Ellis' article, another statement has been made by the successor of Archbishop McNicholas as chairman of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. In *The Sign* for July, 1960, we read these words of Archbishop Karl J. Alter of Cincinnati: "The fear that we as Catholics will use religious toleration here to gain the ascendancy in our country, and then, having achieved political hegemony, proceed to deprive our fellow citizens of freedom of speech in religion, of freedom of conscience, or impose our convictions upon them willy-nilly, is utterly unwarranted by any doctrine of the Catholic Church, as well as by the consistent pronouncements of the American hierarchy. We seek no privileged status; we proclaim our full adherence to the provisions of the Constitution as of now as well as for the future."

Words could hardly be clearer in stating the intentions of the Catholic hierarchy regarding the separation of Church and State in this country. Of course, neither these words nor any other words will convince those who refuse to be convinced. But the declarations of the American bishops constitute an unequivocal commitment to the principle of the equality of all religions before the civil law. On that commitment American Catholics take their stand.

# The Oldest American Prejudice

*La Salle Woelfel*

**T**H E OLDEST and severest form of bigotry in the United States finds expression in opposition to religious creeds, especially Roman Catholicism. As the pages of American history are compiled into volumes, the episodes of this species of religious intolerance can be isolated and subjected to critical analysis and objective evaluation. Some day such events may be of academic interest only. Here and now, to understand the nature and extent of religious intolerance in the United States, we need to put on our historical "bifocals," since the object under examination is in both the distant past and the evolving present.

The accompanying chart has been designed to show in broad perspective the sweep of intolerance against Catholics from colonial times down to the present decade. It indicates the prevailing degree of intolerance in terms of neutral, mild, bitter and violent. This attempt to translate feelings and emotions into lines and curves is, it must be insisted, an impressionistic sketch rather than a detailed map of anti-Catholicism.

#### TRENDS AND CYCLES

On examining our chart of religious intolerance, one immediately notes the existence of a *cyclical* movement of bigotry. Crests and troughs appear repeatedly throughout the entire span of our history.

Viewing the data for its panoramic effect to ascertain the *trend* of religious bigotry in the United States, a parabolic image emerges—a bitter and slowly mounting tension from colonial times until the Revolution, followed by a period of moderation extending to the Eighteen Twenties; at that point a violent eruption of thirty years' duration broke forth, which only the horrors of civil war could mitigate; the subsequent decline of intolerance was interrupted by massive outbursts in the Eighteen Eighties and Nineties and the Nineteen Twenties; since then it has been punctuated by irregular, stiletto-like disturbances. Variations in the degree of religious intolerance which may have occurred within a season (a period of less than a year) are not visible on this chart. We shall comment on these *seasonal* variations later in this article.

The chart of intolerance was drawn to illustrate the historic trend, cycle and irregular features of religious bigotry in the United States. These facets of intolerance will now be discussed separately.

The basic tendency of religious bigotry to grow or

decline over an extended period of years reflects the existence of a trend in intolerance. When graphically illustrated or intellectually conceived, the trend is typically represented as a straight line or a smooth curve, since growth or decline takes place gradually and without precipitous reversals in direction. While the rate of growth or decline of religious intolerance cannot be estimated with mathematical precision, the direction of the trend is readily observable.

The pattern or direction of the trend of religious intolerance is influenced by forces which require the passage of time to take effect, e.g., education, population and attitude changes, economic and cultural revolutions, etc. "Nativism," for example, was a national attitude which persisted as a source of bigotry through the colonial and early national periods of American history.

To illustrate further, Catholics in the 17th and 18th centuries considered themselves a harassed minority, and were looked upon as an alien group; in the 19th century they assumed a defensive and apologetic posture; and in the 20th century they evolved into a conservative, responsible and mature group which accentuated the positive features of Catholicism and sought to steer clear of demagogic, belligerency or radicalism.

The concept of trend is, therefore, primarily of interest when a view of the long-term position is desired, or when a forecast of events based on a record of the past is required.

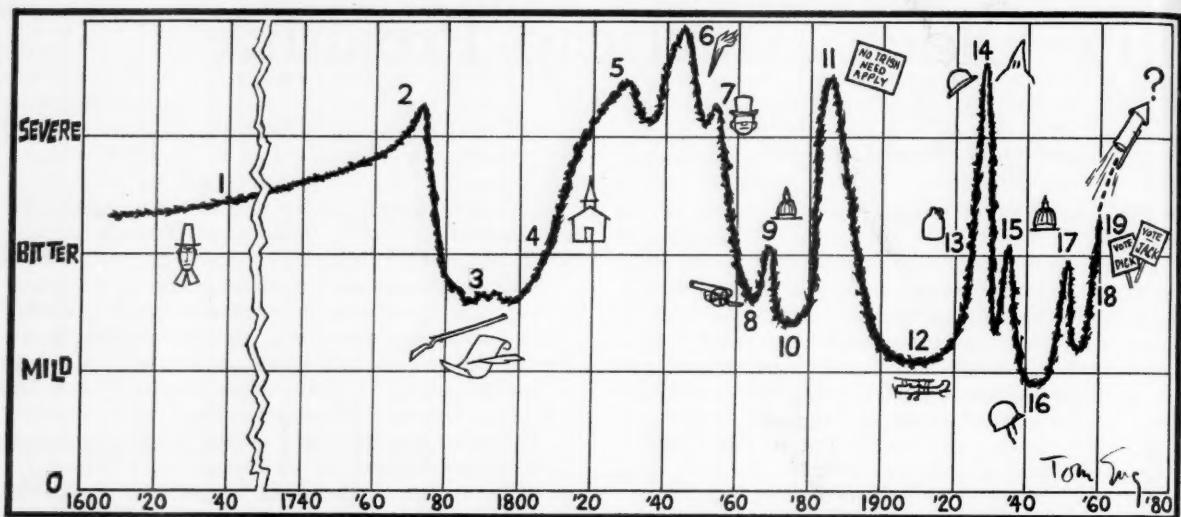
The principal characteristic of cycles of religious intolerance appears to be the extreme nature of their upward or downward movements. Such movements lack uniformity in direction, intensity or amplitude. Cycles, which are of shorter duration than the trend, usually follow a pattern of four phases or periods having these recognizable traits:

- MODERATION . . . Restraint, the absence or avoidance of excess in intolerance.
- REVIVAL . . . An awakening or quickening of prejudice or bias.
- VEHEMENCE . . . Fury, impetuosity, passionate fever at peak.
- DECLINE . . . The abatement of violence, a turn towards moderation.

No two cycles of intolerance are precisely the same, although the basic pattern of fluctuations is always present. Each cycle has certain features which distinguish it from all others. But the various cycles have in common a link to factors which are psychological (fear, hate, etc.) or social (widespread ignorance, a

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## Fever Chart of Anti-Catholic Sentiment



1. COLONIAL ERA (1607-1775). Most of the original American colonies discriminated against various denominations, especially Roman Catholicism. Nativism, an antipathy toward later arrivals, first appeared.
2. QUEBEC ACT (1774). This grant of religious freedom to Catholics stirred violent reactions in the colonies.
3. EARLY REPUBLIC (1776-1795). Religious tensions lessened in a period of civic unity; Constitution outlawed "religious test" as a qualification for office.
4. FEDERALIST AGE (1796-1819). Federalists inherited some of the traditional fears of "Romanism." Threats to civil and religious liberties in Alien and Sedition Acts (1798).
5. SPREAD OF HATE (1820-1839). Revivalism, a Protestant reform movement of the late 1820's, occasioned anti-Catholic outbursts. Primitive "hate-sheets" appeared and bigots burned Ursuline convent at Charlestown, Mass., in 1834. First appearance of the notorious *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (alleged confessions of an ex-nun), 1836.
6. CONTROVERSIAL FORTIES (1840-1848). Bitter strife in New York over forced reading of King James version of the Bible in the common schools. Rioting in Philadelphia, 1844, culminated in burning of churches.
7. RISE OF KNOW-NOTHINGISM (1849-1859). The Know-Nothing party, dedicated to the destruction of the Catholic Church, organized in 1849.
8. CIVIL WAR PERIOD (1860-1864). Years of relative good will on the religious front.
9. RELATIONS WITH THE VATICAN INTERRUPTED (1867). Congress refused to appropriate funds for continuing a diplomatic mission to the Papal States. Support of this act grew out of a rumor that the American Protestant church in Rome had been ordered outside the walls of the Eternal City by papal officials.
10. LESSENING OF TENSION (1868-1879). General amity, despite occasional local flareups of nativism.
11. RENEWAL OF ANTI-CATHOLIC SENTIMENT (1880-1899). Formation and spread of the American Protective Association (APA), a secret anti-Catholic party. Establishment of the Apostolic Delegation in Washington (1893) by Pope Leo XIII occasioned protests.
12. DECLINE IN PREJUDICE (1900-1919). Resentment against heavy immigration from Catholic countries of Southern Europe. Period of general good will, heightened by sense of national unity in World War I.
13. ORGANIZING FOR HATRED (1920-1927). During the 1920's the Ku Klux Klan, a "native, white, Protestant" organization, attacked the Church along with bootleggers, pacifists, bolshevists, internationalists, evolutionists, Jews and Negroes. Bias along religious lines underlies restrictive immigration laws.
14. SMITH CAMPAIGN (1928). Candidacy of Alfred E. Smith, a Roman Catholic, for the Presidency, stirs one of the nation's fiercest waves of bigotry. Smith's defeat is attributed in part to anti-Catholicism.
15. SUSPICIONS IN THE THIRTIES (1934-1937). Political activities of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, including his radio attacks on the Roosevelt Administration, reopened anti-Catholic suspicions.
16. HIGH TIDE OF UNITY (1940-1945). Outbreak of World War II ushers in a period of civic and religious harmony. Myron C. Taylor sent to Vatican as personal representative of President Roosevelt; he remains there under Truman, despite protests.
17. STORM OVER THE VATICAN AMBASSADOR (1951). President Truman's designation of Gen. Mark W. Clark as Ambassador Extraordinary to Vatican City set off anti-Catholic reaction and new Church-State feud.
18. CONTINUED RELIGIOUS DEBATE (1955-1959). Proposals for Federal aid to parochial schools, released-time religious instruction programs, and advocacy of birth control in public policy renewed controversy.
19. RELIGION IN POLITICS (1960). Nomination of a Roman Catholic, Sen. John F. Kennedy, as Presidential candidate opens a new phase in the history of bigotry.

background of crusading reform or protestation accompanied by a resort to political activities and pressures, etc.).

Thus, specific historical cycles of religious intolerance in the United States reflect the impact of a zealot, the birth of a political party with denominational affiliations, the panic of an economic crisis, a tidal wave of immigration, or the irritations arising from topical issues, e.g., Church-State relations, birth control and public policy, divorce laws, censorship, public funds for private schools.

#### SEASONAL AND RANDOM FLUCTUATIONS

By seasonal patterns in religious intolerance are meant persistently recurring variations within a twelve-month period. Primarily these variations are associated with certain social customs and habits linked to days or seasons of religious observance throughout the calendar year. A noticeable increase in religious tensions preceding Christmas, Easter or Yom Kippur, for example, may result from the spotlighting of the activities of a specific creed. Such reactions may take on the nature of a conditioned response. In colonial times, November 5, known as "Guy Fawkes' Day" or "Pope Day," was reserved for anti-Catholic demonstrations which commemorated the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot against James I of England.

Irregular or random fluctuations of considerable magnitude appear as single, isolated events possessing accidental and unpredictable characteristics. They represent residual changes which cannot be satisfactorily explained in terms of trend, cycle or seasonal variations. Every decade of American history has experienced these episodes. When observed and charted at periodic intervals, they manifest a saw-toothed pattern, and appear to be distributed randomly as to timing, amplitude and direction. Such events and situations occur, have their impact, then vanish from the historical scene.

A review of history indicates that religious intolerance and the events associated with it have recurred with a persistent and compelling force. Episodes of religious tension which take place in a society dedicated to religious pluralism are separable and permit of classification. The extent of the bigotry which exists at a given moment may be described in terms of the relative intensity of four possible patterns of intolerance — trend, cycle, seasonal variation and irregular fluctuation. A composite image of these patterns will reveal the total behavior pattern of religious intolerance in a society.

If one could momentarily stop the flow of time and submit the dissected cross section of a decade or year to a microscopic examination, one would be able to observe the effects of these trends, cycle, seasonal and random factors, each operating simultaneously, but not necessarily in the same direction or with the same force. The religious tensions of the Nineteen Twenties, for instance, were influenced by the downward pull of the trend, the upward push of the revival phase of the cycle, and the heated vehemency of some appar-

ently random forces. In 1960, what seems to be a cyclical revival of religious bigotry gives promise of being happily blunted as a result of the long-range decline in the trend of intolerance.

Once the force and direction of religious intolerance are determined, it becomes possible to utilize this information 1) to provide a basis for an understanding, interpretation and anticipation of the causes of religious bigotry; 2) to establish controls or limits (as determined by an index of religious intolerance) beyond which bigotry cannot be tolerated; 3) to formulate short- or long-run programs which would reduce and eventually eliminate religious tensions.

Bigotry is not a symptom. It is a disease. Religious intolerance, a perversion of the religious instinct in man, cannot exist independently of the bigot. Bigotry is a personal affair which overflows into the social environment. It is above all paradoxical that intolerance — which clearly has no title to exist under the American democratic code — should exist in an area such as religion, where unity, not division, and peace, not conflict, are held to be of the essence.

### The Church and Tolerance

The idea of tolerance as exposed in Catholic thought is extremely simple. In substance it can be reduced to this: *no one should be forced against his will to accept the Catholic faith*. Respect for the truth demands freedom of consent.

It is therefore important to point out that it was genuine Catholic tradition that inspired the declarations of Leo XIII, Pius XI and Pius XII. The principles of tolerance should be explained not as though they represent an effort on the part of the Church to come to a compromise with the modern world. On the contrary, they represent a new development of the permanent principles of Catholicism. . . .

Today the cause of civilization and the cause of personal freedom are one and the same, while the cause of barbarism is synonymous with an extreme intolerance which has nothing in common with any Catholic doctrine. . . . If the Church today leaps to the defense of human freedom, it is not because she has been forced by historical necessity to submit. Nor does her defense of human freedom mean that she has entered into a compromise with principles that are alien to her teaching. In the presence of a new historical situation the Church merely affirms the dignity of the human person and its essential relationship to the primacy of truth which has always been the norm of her teaching and action.

*From "Religious Tolerance in Catholic Tradition," by Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro, in Catholic Mind, January-February, 1960, pp. 12-24.*

# A Time for Keeping On of Shirts

*George Kelley*

POLITICAL EXPERTS, among whom agreement is somewhat rare, are rapidly coming into agreement that this will be a bad year for common sense. More and more, party leaders and political writers express apprehension that the tide of bigotry is rising earlier than it did in 1928, and that it may sweep higher and more violently against the rocks of equality and freedom upon which the American ideal has been built.

There is strong evidence that their fears are well founded. Even before the Democratic convention nominated its young aspirant, Sen. John F. Kennedy, church groups and church leaders, especially in the South, began issuing threatening statements. The actual nomination sparked additional fires of bigotry. Even a man of such responsibility as Dr. Ramsey Pollard, president of the Southern Baptist Convention (which claims nine million members) said frankly that his organization "felt justified" in attacking Mr. Kennedy on the basis of his religion. Without even a liquor issue in the background, the South Carolina Conference of the Southern Methodist Church adopted a resolution which openly urged its membership to "actively oppose the election of a Roman Catholic."

## HEATING THE FIRES OF HATE

What will be the effect of all these outbursts? They cannot help exercising a divisive influence on the nation, stirring up mistrust and actual hatred which will be a long time in subsiding. The immediate effect, of course, is of great concern to the politicians. Democratic leaders properly fear that bigotry may accelerate the undermining of their once "solid" South. On the other hand, however, such an astute observer as Joseph Alsop writes that the Republicans have good reason to fear they will lose some of the conservative Catholic strength in the more populous States of the North; that some Catholics who usually vote Republican will vote Democratic in revulsion against the bigotry manifested toward Mr. Kennedy. Among the independent Protestant voters, it might be a fair guess that those who are swung to the Republican column by bigotry may be balanced to a great extent by those who are swung to the Democratic side because they resent having tactics of bigotry used in the name of Protestantism.

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MR. KELLEY, veteran Ohio newspaperman, wrote "Catholics: In 1960 and Later" (AM. 6/4). That article attracted national attention at the time and was subsequently reprinted in the Paris fortnightly *Informations Catholiques Internationales*.

What of us Catholics? Are we to lend ourselves to a Newtonian reaction and build up an "equal and opposite" bigotry of our own? If a Baptist minister, who should be familiar with Matthew 16:19, chooses to interpret the keys in the papal arms as the keys to religious supremacy and to sovereign political power, need we answer him? If an hysterical leaflet warns that a "Catholic militia"—Catholic West Pointers and Annapolis alumni—is awaiting only the leadership of a Catholic President to "make America Catholic" by force of arms, is it necessary to ask why such a militia should wait to hide behind a Catholic President?

The first impulse is to denounce such silliness, and try to answer it. The Knights of Columbus have done this in regard to the bogus "oath," which has come back into circulation, but they have behind them the record of a Congressional investigation upon which they can base solid legal action. In fact, they have persuaded a few ministers who circulated this fraud, not only to retract their charge, but to apologize. This fraud, however, is a matter of provable forgery, and is much different from the generalities about the Church as "a political entity," "pressure from the hierarchy," and all the other accusations and implications which will be directed against a Catholic who dares to seek to lead the nation he helped to defend. What is to be gained by fanning the air against such stenches? Shall we dignify such idiocy by answering it—and thereby publicize it all the more?

Those outside of the Church who are eager to believe that she wants to rule America—that Pope John has his bags packed, awaiting only the news on the Wednesday after the Tuesday after the first Monday in November—and that there will be a Cardinal (or worse, a Jesuit!) leaning over the shoulder of any Catholic who sits in the White House, will believe these things, no matter how fantastic they are or what we Catholics may say about them. Violent public answers will accomplish nothing: intelligent non-Catholics do not need them; credulous anti-Catholics will not be convinced by anything we do. The net result of public replies will merely be to spread these hallucinations among those who are willing to believe them, and to work up high blood pressure among ourselves.

Catholics might well adopt the Coolidge campaign slogan, and "keep cool." A fair-minded non-Catholic who is disturbed by the fantasies evoked by the bigots will seek out a Catholic friend for the facts. He deserves a reasonable answer, and he will profit by the facts. There are Protestant spokesmen for fairness who can and will reply to the bigots; what they say will

have more effect than a million words from a hundred Cardinals. People expect those who are accused to defend themselves, and not always with the truth. A third party gets a better hearing.

Third parties have begun, in fact, to provide answers. Right Rev. James A. Pike, Episcopal Bishop of California, like many other former Catholics, has not been noted for his affection toward the Church in which he was reared, but he used a Labor Day speech to rebuke the bigots. He assailed the circulation of hate literature as an un-American activity, and said: "I repudiate with all my being the smearing of another Christian group."

#### ANSWERING HONEST DOUBTS

Senator Kennedy has organized a special division of his campaign, headed by James W. Wine, formerly associate general secretary of the National Council of Churches, to counter the tactics of those who oppose him solely on religious grounds. More disinterested, and thus likely to get a better hearing, are some of the spokesmen who have arisen in the South. The New York *Times* recently reported that in Denton, Texas, three young Baptists, who said they were "tired of all this anti-Catholic talk from the pulpit," established "Baptists in Texas for Kennedy." In Dallas, the Rev. F. Braxton Bryant, a Methodist minister, went on the air in a 15-minute program arranged by the Democrats to

rebut a sermon by a Baptist minister who had attacked Mr. Kennedy on the basis of his faith.

These men, of course, have undertaken a tough assignment. The Rev. Mr. Bryant is quoted by the *Times*:

It's such a nefarious thing, and so hard to rebut. Baptists have a fixed mind on this, not all of which you can call prejudice. But American Catholics are part of our democratic heritage—they believe in separation of Church and State, despite what their Church may have said in the past. Even though Jack Kennedy has a reputation for telling the truth, we are asked to believe he is a liar.

There are some viewpoints, too, which Catholics must leave to Protestants to answer. For example, the *Times* quoted a remark made to a minister in Charlotte by a man who said: "Being a Mason, I could not vote for a Catholic." Only a Mason can answer him with authority.

Plenty of fertilizer will be used to propagate bigotry this fall. Let us use the *NR* of common sense to keep it from growing in our own yards. The Catholic Church has survived attacks much more vicious and much more intelligent than those made by Southern bigots. The great peril is to America herself. Mr. Khrushchev likes nothing better than to see Americans weaken their own country. We must not favor him by fanning the flames which can melt the links of our national unity.

## Washington Front

### An Addition to the Ticket

IT IS, OF COURSE, very early in the campaign, but already the fact is established that the Republicans made a canny, wise choice in Henry Cabot Lodge as running mate for Vice President Richard M. Nixon. As this is written, our erstwhile Ambassador to the UN has been on the hustings for only a week. In that short time, however, he has demonstrated formidable qualities as a campaigner.

Most importantly, he requires no publicity build-up such as is often required of obscure figures chosen for second place for primarily geographic reasons. On the East Coast, at least, he is instantly and favorably recognized as "that man on the television who talks up to the Russians." For many New Yorkers who watch the UN sessions instead of the soap-opera fare that is the usual afternoon entertainment, he is as familiar as Young Dr. Malone or Ma Perkins.

Mr. Lodge also, it would appear, inspires none of the divisive feelings that the leader of his party has stirred in the past for his partisan zeal. Mr. Lodge is a phenomenon in that he is not only just as well known as the top of the ticket. He is in some areas, and among some independent voters, even more popular.

Mr. Lodge will apparently take full advantage of the elevated reputation he enjoyed as representative

to the UN. So far in his speeches, he has not only avoided attacking the opposition; he has avoided mentioning them.

When his path crossed that of his Democratic counterpart, Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, in Boston, Mr. Lodge huffily refused to comment on Senator Johnson's attack on the Administration. He indicated that such matters were beneath his notice.

Mr. Lodge's visit to Massachusetts was more of a sentimental nature. His most ardent partisans concede that Mr. Lodge could not wrest their common home State from Senator Kennedy, who defeated Mr. Lodge by 70,000 votes in the Senate race of 1952. What his stay did prove, however, is that Mr. Lodge, despite a long absence from the political wars, has considerable gifts as a campaigner. He is, despite a somewhat autocratic air, cordial with the individual voter, and an accomplished baby-kisser. In Massachusetts, people who thought they would never hear their last hurrah, really like his aristocratic background. One woman of Irish ancestry told a reporter that she liked Mr. Lodge because his grandfather, Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, had gotten the stained glass windows for the Gate of Heaven Church in South Boston shipped from Italy, duty-free.

Political professionals in Boston say that Mr. Lodge may cut down Senator Kennedy's margin in the Bay State. They hasten to add that voters never vote for the second man. But it is obvious that they, too, feel that Mr. Lodge is a distinct addition to the Republican ticket.

MARY McGRORY

# On Raising the Religious Issue

*When the statement of the clergymen associated with Dr. Norman Vincent Peale was published September 8, we asked Fr. John Courtney Murray, S.J., to allow us to publish his reactions in the pages of AMERICA. His remarks, which were widely publicized the day we released them, set the tone, we think, for intelligent Catholic appraisal of the bitter and unfortunate interlude of bigotry through which we are passing. Fr. Murray's words are followed by a provocative essay of Robert Hoyt, to which we append the views of a wide spectrum of other writers.*

## John Courtney Murray, S.J.

The brutal fact becomes increasingly clear. The "oldest American prejudice," as anti-Catholicism has rightly been called, is as poisonously alive today as it was in 1928, or in the Eighteen Nineties or even in the Eighteen Forties. Its source is the same, political and religious ignorance. Its result is the same, a disastrous confusion of politics and religion.

Only one difference is discernible. Now the ancient "anti-Papist" text is embellished by a new set of footnotes. This is the single concession to the current climate, which has altered in only one respect. Today even religious prejudice feels the need somehow to contrive for itself the semblance of rationality. The footnotes, of course, prove none of the time-worn anti-Catholic charges in the text; they merely serve to cloak the prejudice that long ago wrote the text.

Can the religious issue be outlawed from the campaign? Obviously not. It is itself an outlaw thing that defies the laws of rational politics.

Will the oldest American prejudice be dissipated during the campaign? Again, obviously not. It may well decide the issue.

My chief hope is that old Catholic angers will not rise, as the ancient anti-Catholic text, with its new footnotes, is endlessly recited.

Now, if ever, is the time for the tradition of reason, which is the Catholic tradition, to assert itself. Only in its assertion is there hope for some health in American politics.

## Robert G. Hoyt

No doubt it would be extremely bad form—and perhaps it would be seriously imprudent—but the next time a prominent politician says that "the religious issue" should be kept out of the 1960 campaign, I wish somebody would ask "why?"

It's not that I want the campaign to be fought on religious grounds. I just think it would be a good thing if we could get a clearer understanding of how it is possible to conduct a national debate, dealing presumably with the most fundamental problems we face as a people, without falling into religious controversy.

There has been some semitheological discussion this year, of course, because of the candidacy of Senator Kennedy. But a good part of this has been merely the expression of old-fashioned nativist antipathy against Catholics. Some few writers and speakers have raised what I consider to be valid religio-political questions, but the questions and answers have been given, generally, outside the public domain.

The point is that in American politics any discussion of religion (except for merely conventional and ritualistic references) is unusual, abnormal, and considered in bad taste. And this is a situation which I think needs a more adequate explanation than the one usually given. . . . The consensus seems to be that political issues are truly serious and worthy of mature debate, whereas religion is an affair of insubstantial abstractions; or, at most, a means of satisfying devotional needs according to personal tastes.

To anyone whose religion is something more than a sentimental attachment, this view is of course fundamentally unsatisfactory. The genuinely religious person holds that all fundamental questions are ultimately theological, that no aspect of life can be excluded from religion, that religion may not be relegated to the private or personal realm.

Does this mean there should be more religious argument in connection with political issues and campaigns? Not at all. It does mean, I think, that we have to find a way of explaining the absence of religious debate without explaining religion away. We need a rationale for the paradox that both religion and politics concern themselves with human conduct and therefore with matters of morality; and yet, so far as public debate is concerned, the twain are not permitted to meet.

Now, the exclusion of theological considerations from discussion of political issues in this country and in other pluralistic societies is not the result of a decision reached by theoretical reasoning. It is rather the fruit of experience. We have learned that when political groupings are based on religious affiliation, the nation's unity is radically imperiled—as it is when political parties are instruments of social classes or ethnic groups.

Second, we have learned that it is entirely possible for men with different ultimate beliefs about the nature of man and the universe, about the existence of God and the meaning of freedom and morality, to work in reasonable harmony for the resolution of immediate practical issues.

This kind of practical consensus has been an especially great necessity in this country, whose people come from so many profoundly different cultural, religious and racial backgrounds. Most Americans understand this instinctively, and the result is a native distrust for too much ideology in politics. The perpetuation of two major parties, each containing a liberal and a conservative wing, is frequently cited as the most evident symbol of this underlying American attitude.

The system is not logical, but it works. Taking our problems one by one, we test proposed solutions against a Constitution which embodies not so much a theory as a method of government; we argue their merits largely on practical grounds; and we usually emerge with a compromise—generally a compromise between opposing interests rather than opposing ideals of government.

This basic pragmatism of American politics makes it seem dull and inglorious, if not actually dishonest, to some critics who view it from afar; like the Spanish, for example, for whom every political issue is a matter of principle to be solved in accord with a body of political doctrine, and who therefore find compromise contemptible. For American politicians, all principles are practical, all politics is compromise.

It seems to me that this situation has both good and bad effects on religion in America. On the good side: it makes for civic peace, which is both a great good in itself and almost a prerequisite for moral and spiritual advancement. Religious strife rarely makes for religious growth; holy wars don't always lead to holiness.

Moreover, in the American context it is far easier to use "pure means" for the spread of the Gospel and the building up of the Church—if only because there are fewer opportunities to get away with the use of less noble means. Catholics in America, for example, neither expect nor hope nor want to obtain advantages for the Church by means of political power; our best resource for fulfilling Christ's mandate is simply to understand, preach and practice the Gospel. This is certainly not a bad thing; perhaps it is not too much to regard it as providential.

But there are bad effects as well, both for religion and for the political order. It is not really possible to hold a culture together without a common body of religious doctrine. A method of government is not enough, without some shared understanding of its purpose based on an understanding of personality, law,

human destiny, freedom, authority, etc. We have made our system work thus far because underlying the method there has been in fact some kind of consensus about these "ultimates"—an inherited and rather fuzzy and mostly subconscious set of values deriving from the Hebraic and Christian revelations and from the Age of Faith.

Because there are, however, significant differences in our interpretations of this heritage, we have had to exclude all discussion of absolutes from the public arena. This has contributed heavily to the "etherealizing" of religion, and thus to the leaching away of our shared beliefs. From the error of considering religion as not only the criterion but the source of all truth, we have arrived at the opposite error of considering it irrelevant.

We have arrived, in fact, at the point where moralists are rebuked for studying the ethics of nuclear war, or for expressing a judgment on birth control or artificial insemination or corporate profits (especially if the judgment is unfavorable). And our situation is

## Contributors to the Symposium

- WAYNE H. COWAN, managing editor of *Christianity and Crisis*, New York.
- DAVID DANZIG, program director, American Jewish Committee, New York.
- RABBI ARTHUR GILBERT, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York.
- ROBERT G. HOYT, journalist, lay editor of the Kansas City-St. Joseph diocesan weekly, *Catholic Reporter*.
- JEROME G. KERWIN, professor of political science, University of Chicago.
- ROBERT MICHAELSEN, professor and administrative director, School of Religion, State University of Iowa.
- JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J., professor of theology at Woodstock College, editor of *Theological Studies*.

such that a Presidential candidate feels compelled to insist that "where he goes to church" doesn't make any real difference in anything he might do as a public man. Such are the perils of pluralism.

What, then, is the answer about the religious issue? I'm afraid I don't know: first, because the question itself is too hard, and secondly because even the soundest answer might be too complicated to get across.

But I think a good answer would contain some of the following elements. First, it would acknowledge that religion and politics do intersect, without becoming identical. Second, it would indicate that the "intersection" occurs in a number of ways, each of which demands separate treatment.

For example: 1) Religious belief is not only an element of, but the ground of wisdom; 2) religion forms the conscience and strengthens the will to do what is right; 3) religion demands justice, teaches compassion,

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requires humility; 4) religious practice and devotion give access to God.

But then, thirdly, the answer would go on to give some qualifications: 1) A man may not act against his conscience, regardless of his place in life; but neither may a man who is highly placed impose his moral beliefs upon others whose consciences are formed differently; 2) in a free pluralist society no man may use his office to further the interests of his own Church at the expense of others; 3) religious piety is not a substitute for political prudence, nor does it supply for cowardice or stupidity.

Finally, I think the answer might mention a couple of specific issues by warning proponents of foreign-aid birth control, and proponents of tax-aid to Catholic schools, that they ought not to make these into test issues—because, however important they may seem to their backers, they are not important enough to risk the creation of ideological conflict in a country not yet mature enough to handle that type of thing.

## Robert Michaelsen

A century and a quarter ago Alexis de Tocqueville observed: "In the United States religion exercises but little influence upon the laws and upon the details of public opinion; but it directs the customs of the community, and, by regulating domestic life, it regulates the state." Separation of Church and State meant little direct influence of organized religion on public policy; it did not mean, however, that religion had no role in the life of the American community.

I think we are wise, where possible, to avoid the direct involvement of religion in our political life. It is a good thing that we apply no tests of orthodoxy to our candidates. A candidate's religious affiliation or point of view may be debated on a rational basis only when it is directly and obviously relevant to his record or to the duties of the office he seeks (a Quaker for an office with military responsibilities or a Christian Scientist for public health officer, for example). Of course, it is desirable that religion be operative in the life of the office-holder as well as the electorate. But what this may mean for issues of public policy is seldom immediately obvious.

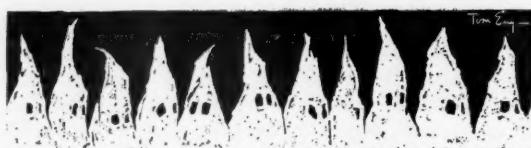
In many respects the example of Abraham Lincoln is instructive for our consideration of the role of religion in political discussion and action. The late James Randall referred to him as "a man of more intense religiosity than any other President." Yet Lincoln was not affiliated formally with a religious denomination, and he never raised specifically religious issues in public debate. But his speech manifested a thorough familiarity with the Bible, and his life a profound rootage in biblical faith. The Second Inaugural Address, for example, contains 14 references to God, four direct quotations from Genesis, Psalms and Matthew, and other allusions to scriptural teaching—possibly the most moving being the incomparable lines of reconciliation with which the address closes: "With malice toward none, with charity for all . . ." For Lincoln, these were not

pious platitudes; they were holy precepts to be woven into the warp and woof of life.

I agree with most of what Mr. Hoyt says above. Were I to attempt to say the same sort of thing, I would do so with a somewhat different emphasis and tone. I am not overly alarmed that Americans are long on "practical politics" and short on ideology, that we attempt to embrace as many diverse elements as possible within our system, that we seek to maintain an open society where most of the ultimate questions are not answered officially, and that our Constitution deals more with method than with theory. As Mr. Hoyt rightly suggests, the "basic pragmatism of American politics . . . makes for civic peace . . ." "Religious strife," he asserts, "rarely makes for religious growth; holy wars don't always lead to holiness." Indeed, holy wars seldom lead to holiness and never directly. The effects are quite the opposite.

It is well that we debate the issues and that we face up to ultimate questions which have a bearing on our political life. But I would not push for common agreement.

Mr. Hoyt states categorically that "it is not really possible to hold a culture together without a common body of religious doctrine." I would not put it that way. I could agree only if "religious doctrine" is given the widest possible interpretation and if there is no call for unanimity. The doctrines (note the plural) or assumptions should be general in nature and the system for embodying them as open as possible. I am willing to settle for the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the system outlined in the Constitution. Obviously these documents have theological implications. I personally cannot see meaning in the ideals of



liberty and equality apart from God. But I am not prepared to insist that all of my fellow citizens believe in God before they can be accepted as 100-per-cent Americans.

I agree completely with Mr. Hoyt's assertion that "the genuinely religious person holds that all fundamental questions are ultimately theological, that no aspect of life can be excluded from religion, that religion may not be relegated to the private or personal realm." All the ultimate issues are religious, as far as I am concerned. I heartily favor the encouragement of all possible public discussion of these issues. We do far too little of this. Mostly, we, or the ecclesiastical organizations with which we are affiliated, make pronouncements. We need more dialogue, more symposiums, more exchange, more talking with and less talking at or against each other. When the politicians see the theologians locked in friendly debate on the ultimate issues, then they may be more willing to enter into public discussions of these issues themselves.

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## David Danzig

Mr. Hoyt's thoughtful article reflects the distress—and to some extent, the ambiguities—of a man caught in a dilemma. On the one hand, he is pleased that religion is not a major cause of civic strife in the United States, that Americans do not generally translate theological differences into political power struggles, or political campaigns into religious arguments. He attributes this felicitous state of affairs to what he calls a tradition of pragmatism, undergirded by a consensus about certain basic values. I think "pragmatism" is an unfair word to describe this tradition, for our tradition of civic morality, although it cannot be traced to an absolute doctrine, is both civic and moral, and is dynamically related to the ethical consensus which Mr. Hoyt, no doubt unintentionally, appears to deprecate by calling it "fuzzy" and "unconscious." On the contrary, this ethical consensus has been vital and operative, even if it has not been made explicit. As we all know, unconscious values are still values.

On the other side, Mr. Hoyt fears religion is being denied its rightful importance, and is suspicious of that very same pluralism whose civic dividends he so much appreciates. He counts among the "perils" of this pluralism the fact that a Presidential candidate feels compelled to insist that 'where he goes to church' doesn't make any real difference in anything he might do as a public man," and takes this to mean that we now consider religion irrelevant. He then draws two very interesting conclusions: 1) That we should acknowledge certain truths about religious belief: that it is the ground of wisdom, forms the conscience, strengthens the will to do what is right; 2) That certain issues, such as foreign aid, birth control and tax aid to Catholic schools should not be made into test issues, because they "are not important enough to risk the creation of ideological conflict in a country not yet mature enough to handle that type of thing."

I agree with much of what Mr. Hoyt has to say, but I would reverse his conclusions. Where he is distressed to find religion irrelevant, I feel it is irrelevant and should be properly considered so. Where he wishes to avoid or postpone public clashes over questions which we may call religiously-connected—issues in which religious doctrines are translated into public policy—this is precisely the point at which I would welcome public debate.

To put it another way, let me ask what Mr. Hoyt means when he criticizes the contention that "where a man goes to church doesn't make a difference in anything he might do as a public man." Does he mean that we should recognize that a man's religious values, commitments and moral convictions will affect his character and help form his attitudes? But this is a truism: no one would seriously disagree with it. Or does he mean perhaps that a man's position on a variety of issues can be predicted from his religion, or "where he goes to church?" If so, then we might as well replace our current Presidential campaign with a debate on "Who would make a better President—a

Protestant or a Catholic?" (Unfortunately, this is the very level on which the campaign is being argued in some parts of the country, but neither Mr. Hoyt nor I would wish to be a party to that kind of debate.) On the contrary, it is exactly because we assume that a man's position on public issues is *not* deducible from his religion that we ask candidates to speak out on these issues and cast our votes accordingly.

One illustration comes naturally to mind. Knowing Senator Kennedy to be a Catholic, we know that he must consider divorce and artificial birth control measures immoral. But this does not tell us what he would do in his official capacity about this belief. It does not tell us, for example, whether he would approve the use of government power to prohibit these practices. And that, after all, is the crucial question.

Because we tend to distrust ideology and theology in politics, to maintain a fairly rigid distinction between an individual's religion and his position on matters of public policy, and to resolve conflict among competing interest groups by examining possible consequences and appealing to civic morality, instead of arguing absolutes, Mr. Hoyt deems our system illogical. He gives us, by comparison, the Spanish, to whom every political issue must be solved in accord with a body of fixed doctrine. This system is, presumably, more logical. I believe that both systems follow logically from different sets of premises and from different principles. Neither system is more logical; they are just different. That is why I seriously question Mr. Hoyt's contention that it is impossible "to hold a culture together without a common body of religious doctrine."

I may agree with Mr. Hoyt that to the truly religious man, all fundamental questions are ultimately theological, but does it follow that we should therefore debate theologies instead of programs and policies?

Mr. Hoyt and I do not have the same theology; our views about God and whether or not the world is redeemed are undoubtedly different. Yet we may feel exactly the same way about the ethics of nuclear war, the farm problem and the national debt. Our recommendations on how to deal with these problems may be related to our religious beliefs, but they are not predictable from them.

Therefore, from the public and political point of view, our religious beliefs and affiliations are, quite literally, irrelevant.

I honestly believe this is what underlay Adlai Stevenson's comment last spring, in response to a press request for his opinion on the religious issue, that the issues "are too grave for voters to be distracted about where the candidates pray." To have answered the reporter's query about the "religious issue" in the Presidential campaign with Mr. Hoyt's substitute response—that religious belief is the ground of wisdom, etc.—would have been completely beside the point. He was not asked to comment on the merits of religion, but on whether or not it should be a political issue. Between Mr. Stevenson's response, as I understand it, and Mr. Hoyt's, I must agree with Mr. Stevenson.

## Jerome G. Kerwin

It must be granted that in a democratic society religious questions affecting the common good are legitimate matter for public discussion. I myself subscribe to this view. But it must be recognized at the same time that two difficulties will arise in connection with the implementation of this principle.

1. Politics, generally speaking, is the art of compromise, particularly as it is successfully practiced in a democracy. Religious questions for the most part, however, do not admit of compromise. They have to do with a man's deepest convictions and emotions.

Of course, this difficulty is met with not only when religious questions are at issue. We saw something similar in the history of our national controversy over slavery. Here was a matter that had come to have such deep significance to many that compromise became impossible.

The conclusion from a recognition of the existence of this difficulty is that there is a limit to what politics can do. This, in essence, is the wisdom in what intelligent people today understand by separation of Church and State. To discuss certain questions at a given time would seriously disturb the very basis of public order.

2. The second difficulty I see is one that poses itself mainly in the United States and that fact reflects on our own maturity with respect to the discussion of religious issues. Mr. Hoyt makes a good point in saying that "in American politics any discussion of religion . . . is unusual, abnormal and considered in bad taste." Here is an area in which we differ from many European societies. The English, for instance, seem able to treat of religious topics without provoking unfortunate reactions. We have not yet arrived at such a stage. In this area, we remain primitive and on a rather low level. It continues to be very difficult for us to speak in public of religious issues without raising our voices and waving our arms. The result is that we are unable to avoid hard feelings.

This condition has prevailed for the greater part of our history. As a result, a man's religious opinions have come to be considered extraordinarily personal and almost secret. We are just beginning to emerge from this primitive stage. In fact, the dialogue is something quite new in America and it exists only in the higher intellectual circles.

If the dialogue continues, however, and moves in the direction in which I hope it will, some of the questions that now trouble the political scene will be, if not settled, at least rationally discussed in the theological arena. But this is something that takes time. Meanwhile, I am immensely heartened by an event such as the recent publication of a book, *An American Dialogue*, in which a Protestant theologian, Dr. Robert McAfee Brown, and a Catholic, Fr. Gustave Weigel, S.J., speak their minds in all truth and charity.

I have long felt that we Catholics have to bear quite a share of the blame for situations such as the present one, because of our aloofness and the unwillingness of our leaders, particularly among the clergy, to associate

with figures of the same rank on the other side. We have done ourselves and the general community a disservice.

The dialogue, as I see it, will prove in time to be much more effective than even such worthy efforts as that of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. For the present, we find ourselves in a situation where large numbers of our Protestant brethren are fighting the Reformation over again. They paint glowing pictures of the fires of the Inquisition and talk as though this were still the 16th century. The only appeal we can make in turn is that they simply judge an individual candidate on his record and on what he says.

Under any circumstances, even in the best of societies, questions of religion should be raised with great prudence. I would suggest further that even then they should not be raised unless there is some evident lack of clarity in what a candidate or party says.

In the present circumstances, one may draw a slight measure of comfort from signs that the irresponsible and misguided individuals who are presently fanning the fires of religious bigotry have made the mistake of neophytes in violating a seemingly fixed rule of



political campaigns. The traditional belief is that if you want an issue to have its maximum effect in a campaign, you must not raise it too early. In other words, the professional politician's advice is to save your "best" ammunition until the end of the fight.

Unfortunately, however, no matter what impact the raising of a religious issue may have on the outcome of this election, the manner in which it has been raised promises to leave a residue of open sores on the body politic.

## Wayne H. Cowan

No one in this day, I should think, would want to deny that it is propitious to ask pointed questions of a candidate where there is any possibility that his religious views and affiliations might affect public policy if he were elected. To make such a denial is to deprive the responsible citizen access to essential and relevant information on which to reach a mature judgment as to the candidate's qualifications to hold office. To ask such questions is not to establish a religious test, nor can the honest seeking of answers be rightly termed bigotry.

To question a Quaker candidate on his views about defense and armaments, a Christian Science or Jehovah's Witness believer about his position on medical matters, an Amish on education policy—this is readily granted to be a necessary type of interrogation. Simi-

larly, it would seem that certain questions could and should be asked of a Roman Catholic candidate. One need not repeat, I trust, what some of these questions would be.

On these matters I assume there is a consensus in the nation. Bigotry arises when the questioner is discovered to be not at all interested in the answer, and is unwilling to accept an obviously sincere answer at face value. Such a rejection, particularly when coupled with a refusal to accept as evidence the candidate's public record, gives the lie to even the most sophisticated bigots who insist that their discussions are based on "a spirit of truth, tolerance and fairness," etc.

This sophisticated bigotry, as we have recently seen, is further marked by its habit of viewing the answer in the worst possible light. For example, when Senator Kennedy was questioned on what he would do regarding the inclusion of birth control assistance in our foreign-aid program, his answer was equally as straightforward as that of most of the other candidates. Nevertheless, the Senator alone was accused of using "equivocal words."

Praise and even an award were forthcoming from one Protestant group when Senator Kennedy declared that giving Federal funds to parochial schools would be unconstitutional, and when he opposed the appointment of an American Ambassador to the Vatican. However, this was not enough, for he has since been asked virtually to cease being a Catholic by speaking out "properly" on every point of Catholic doctrine on which this group finds the position of the Roman Church contrary to "the American tradition," that is, their position.

There arises here an area where improper questions are raised and outrageous demands are made. To ask Senator Kennedy to speak out, for instance, on the Catholic "boycott of public schools," is surely to draw into the political arena matters that are irrelevant. Such tactics are unfair; they raise questions that are neither legitimate nor germane to political problems.

Amidst all this present confusion certain insights shine through. We see the inability of certain Protestants to accept the fact that what was once an essentially Protestant culture has become a pluralistic one. This represents a problem of great proportions for Protestants, and they must recognize and deal with it.

Of equal importance, however, is recognition of the fact that the fear of Roman Catholic power is not confined to Protestants alone, and that it grows out of a very definite and specific history, some of it contemporary. This is not merely a public-relations problem of creating a new image of the Roman Catholic Church — though it does indicate that Catholicism has failed to convey effectively to non-Catholics its ideas and image of itself. Protestants and others will continue to be uneasy at certain points until they are convinced that the openness to the "American experiment" represented by the thought of Fr. John Courtney Murray, S.J., is more representative of the Catholic Church in America than are the principles enunciated by Ryan and Boland in *Catholic Principles in Politics*.

## Rabbi Arthur Gilbert

I suggest that if we need at all to ask questions of a candidate concerning his religious philosophy and his approach to Church-State relations, such questions ought to fulfill three conditions: 1) they must be asked of all candidates; 2) they must be relevant to the office; 3) we must believe the answers.

It is clear that the questions being raised by some are intended to and serve the purpose chiefly of putting pressure upon the Catholic candidate. They cast an aura of suspicion around him and by innuendo question his American loyalty. I think they are offensive.

The historical fact is that public policy on these crucial Church-State issues has followed no religious boundary line. A Baptist President first seriously suggested an Ambassador to the Vatican. A Protestant Senator led the most significant recent battle for Federal funds for parochial schools. The esteemed president of the Protestant National Council of Churches supported a Protestant President's contention that public funds should not be used to distribute birth control instruments internationally in defiance of the large number of taxpayers who consider such an act immoral; and he agreed that private voluntary agencies are more suitably equipped to assume this responsibility.

Furthermore, not all Protestants would deny themselves the right to use the force of legislation in order to enact into law *their* understandings of morality on many issues such as alcohol, tobacco, obscene literature, bingo and other forms of gambling entertainment, and on the observance of the Sabbath. By what measure is it proper and democratic for them to act in such wise, and a threat to democracy if American Catholics—their consciences informed by their faith—seek to influence public opinion on issues crucial to their moral judgment?

I also note that although Senator Kennedy has answered these questions clearly and forthrightly, they continue to be asked of him as though the hearer fuses to believe he means it.

The questions seem to carry an implicit disbelief that, in my opinion, serves to strengthen bigotry. I believe that nothing more is to be gained by raising such questions in the next several months. To pose them is surely to create an environment in which the bigots may flourish freely.

Certainly we welcome the dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church concerning its position on Church-State relations and freedom of conscience. We want to become better informed concerning its judgments regarding the religious rights of others in a pluralistic society. We seek assurance that their convictions judge as evil any restrictions of religious liberty in America and Spain too, and any place else in the globe where a Church-State treaty serves as an oppressive restraint on the free conscience. Gladly I report that the Catholic Church in America in unprecedented measure has engaged in such dialogue with Protestants and Jews, and undoubtedly this meaningful conversation will continue even after November.

Now is not the time to fall into the trap of asking the present candidates further questions that relate to Church-State issues. These are not the primary questions of our times. Other issues are more important.

We need to know how Nixon and Kennedy feel about the Congo and erupting nationalism in Africa and Asia, United States foreign aid and our relations with Russia and the UN, nuclear testing and disarmament, our expanding economy and racial discrimination. We need to know the moral and spiritual posture that our country and our people must take if the world is to attain freedom and security.

Any informed history of the Presidency in the United States reveals conclusively that what counted most in the President's career was his character, his strength of purpose, his moral vision, more than the specific fact of his nominal denominational allegiance.

As Robert Michaelsen has informed us in his illuminating two articles, "Religion and the Presidency," that appeared in the *Christian Century*, "the relationship of most Presidents with religious bodies seems to have been governed much more by political than by religious considerations—a fact which probably should be more

comforting than alarming." It is difficult, this scholar concludes,

... to find an instance in which a President's formal religious attachment, or lack of one, was of decisive importance in determining the outcome of a major policy decision. Most of the Presidents have been men of religious faith. The influence of their faith, however, has been for the most part a subtle influence, part of the total fabric of their personalities and character. . . .

In terms of the values they support and their methods, two men of the same religious affiliation may be poles apart politically. One thinks of two men by the name of McCarthy, both Roman Catholics, the more famous one being the late Senator from Wisconsin and the other the present junior Senator from Minnesota. It would be difficult to find two men who differed more completely in methods, sympathies and public record.

Preservation of our national self-respect demands that any man who has achieved such stature as to be eligible for nomination by one of our political parties, merits the best consideration of the American people. The issue is the man and not church doctrine.

## Controversial Questions

*The following excerpts are taken from a recent interview with the Most Rev. Karl J. Alter, Archbishop of Cincinnati. They first appeared in The Sign, July, 1960, and will be reprinted in the Catholic Mind, September-October, 1960.*

### Birth Control Information to Other Nations

To avoid any semblance of dodging the issue, let it be clearly understood that neither the President nor any executive officer of government can be charged with responsibility for the morality of an act of Congress. That responsibility belongs to Congress alone. The action by which a Federal law would be put into effect is never the free act of a single Government official, but of government as a composite entity. Hence, moral responsibility in the circumstances cannot be imputed to a particular individual. No President of the United States, whether he be a Catholic, Protestant, Jew or infidel, can nullify an act of Congress. If as a Catholic he be convinced of the immorality of a specific law, he can take a passive attitude toward its enforcement. And thereby he violates neither his conscience nor his oath of office. A Catholic in office has no obligation in conscience to attempt to obstruct the fulfillment of any law by futile action.

### Censorship

The larger question of so-called censorship, as exemplified in the purposes and action of the Legion of Decency and the National Organization

for Decent Literature, must be answered with certain distinctions. To the extent that they evaluate the moral content of any picture, books or drama, they do no more than any book review of a newspaper or magazine. Their recommendations on the basis of moral content have as much validity and legitimacy as do the popular reviews of the same material on the basis of their literary or artistic merits. Neither one nor the other invokes, per se, the sanctions of any civil law. . . . The Church has no law on the subject and imposes no obligation. Any citizen can follow his own conscience in the matter within the context of the civil law. There is no more conflict of conscience, therefore, for a Catholic citizen or officer of government than for any other citizen or government official. As a matter of fact, the President of the United States has nothing to do with censorship, and the whole question is irrelevant in relation to his office.

### Attendance at Non-Catholic Ceremonies

The Code of Canon Law (canon 1258, par. 1) does indeed forbid active participation of Catholics in the worship of non-Catholics. . . . The same canon, however, in paragraph 2, specifically states that civil officials can be present passively, for good reasons, at public solemnities, funerals, weddings and similar functions. There would be no problem, in consequence, for a Catholic President in following the usual protocol or accepted practice. Permission is given even to lay Catholics to attend passively in similar circumstances; and they frequently do so without scandal or comment.

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# The Meetings at St. Andrews

Bernard Leeming, S.J.

THE FAITH AND ORDER COMMISSION and the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches held meetings at St. Andrews, Scotland, from August 3 to August 25. If one were to ask the results of these meetings, they might be headlined as follows:

1. The Faith and Order Commission has given a more definite account of the goal of the movement, which admits that cooperation may be an obstacle to real unity.

2. The Faith and Order Commission is to be enlarged, to have more money, to have a more important place in the structure of the World Council organization, and it is to hold a World Conference of Faith and Order in 1963.

3. The World Council of Churches is to be integrated with the International Missionary Council.

4. Greater attention is to be paid to national and local councils of churches, in order to enlist the interest and help of the man in the pew.

5. The next General Assembly is to be held in New Delhi, India, November 18 to December 8, 1961, and its theme is to be "Jesus Christ, the Light of the World." This summary, however, gives a most inadequate picture of the St. Andrews meetings.

## AN EFFORT AT ONENESS

The World Council is a large and complex organization. Its aim is to overcome the divisions among Christians and to unite all into one Church of Christ. The members are 173 "churches," that is, autonomous ecclesiastical bodies, from all parts of the world, representing the main denominations of Protestantism and a number of the Eastern Orthodox churches. All told, perhaps, it represents about one-third of the Christians in the world, the main bodies outside it being the Catholic Church and a variety of churches of an evangelistic and fundamentalist character. It derives from the Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910, grew into the movements called "Faith and Order" and "Life and Work," and was formed into the present World Council at Amsterdam in 1948. It is a purely consultative body, with no authority whatever over its members. Its leaders have come to see that the effort to unite Christians is a task, not merely of reconciling theological convictions,

FR. LEEMING, S.J., professor of theology at Heythrop College in England and author of the just published *The Churches and the Church* (Newman, \$6.50), will discuss the St. Andrews meeting more fully in the October issue of the quarterly Heythrop Journal (*Chipping Norton, Oxon., England*).

but also of unifying the actual people who are Christians, and unifying them in their whole impact upon the world. Christian doctrine and Christian action are intertwined in a network whose strands cannot be unraveled, but must be taken, as far as possible, as a whole.

The reasons why a Catholic observer can give only impressions and not firm judgments will, I hope, appear in the course of this article.

The first impression one got was of a sense of urgency. References to rapid social change were frequent and manifested the feeling that the work of uniting Christians is a present necessity, that the swift march of events in the world makes delay disastrous, since events are forcing decisions, and even to make no decision means to be left hopelessly behind. No doubt, what is happening in the Congo increased this feeling; but it already existed before the Congo troubles. Representatives of the younger churches, from Asia and Africa, voiced this feeling more than once. One speaker declared that it was hard for them to talk without passion about the denominationalism of the European and American Christians.

Another strong impression was the complexity of the World Council's organization and the multitude of matters with which it deals. The skeleton organization is simple enough. There is a Central Committee to continue the work outlined by the General Assemblies, which meet normally every seven years. There is a General Secretariat, which deals with finance, administration and information, with offices in Geneva, New York and in Eastern Asia. There are four Divisions: one is for studies (it includes the Faith and Order Commission); the others are for international affairs, for ecumenical action and for interchurch aid and refugees. The Division of Studies also has commissions on the Church and society, evangelization and missionary studies; the Division for Ecumenical Action has sections for youth, the laity, cooperation between men and women (it studies marriage and the family, too), and it includes the Bossey Ecumenical Institute, which is for postgraduate study and various other educational efforts.

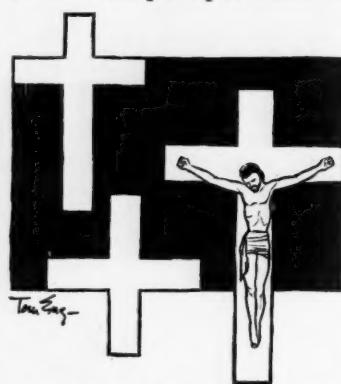
To these groups, however, have been added certain commissions, or committees, for studies on proselytism, on religious liberty (set up because of special financial aid given for that purpose), the diverse committees of the International Missionary Council, and special committees to prepare the next General Assembly at New Delhi in 1961. The Faith and Order meetings received reports on the future of Faith and Order, on

Christ and the Church, on baptism, tradition and traditions, institutionalism, ways of worship and the planning for the 1963 World Conference on Faith and Order. These groups, divided sometimes into the European and the American sections, and, as in the case of "ways of worship," into European, American and Far Eastern, reported the work accomplished during the last three years, and each provided matter which is to be digested, criticized, developed and revised for the next Faith and Order meeting.

What was not said was perhaps as impressive as what was said. If any participants held liberal views in theology, this did not appear, save on one occasion when a speaker referred regretfully to the liberal views held by some members of his own communion. Denominational points of view or convictions were never advanced, save only on two occasions: once to explain the complications caused by the fact that some in the denomination had joined the Council and some had remained aloof; and once when an unequivocal denominational outlook was presented, which the speaker himself ruefully acknowledged to have caused some laughter in the hearers. This denominational silence does not mean that denominational convictions are given up. It does mean, however, that the phase of registering agreements and disagreements has long passed and that the effort now is to approach the problems of union from universal principles which are unassailable and accepted by all. It is on the basis of acceptance of these principles that progress may be made in dissolving non-doctrinal factors, and in seeing the doctrinal factors in the wider perspective of the Church of the earliest times and of the Church as it is universal.

Significant, too, was the silence about regional and national outlooks. The "lands of rapid social change" were, indeed, often mentioned, and attention was called to the ramifying implications of such rapid change. The account of the New York office referred to the responsibilities and difficulties the United States encounters in its role as a "universal uncle" and "common policeman" for large areas of the earth. These apart, references to national characteristics, needs or accomplishments were absent.

There was silence, too, about certain theological questions, notably about the nature of the Eucharist—except for general tacit acceptance of the fact that the Eucharist is central to all discussion of Church unity. There was silence about the ministry and the form of church government. Nothing was said, far less proposed, which could be offensive to any communion of Christians. Indeed, one speaker, a Presbyterian, in discussing



the place of the formula "according to the Scriptures," urged that it ought not even appear to reflect "upon our Roman Catholic friends."

Does such silence seem an evasion of difficult issues and an attempt to make unity by such avoidance? Most certainly not. There is deep awareness of the evil of divisions, and there are serious and sustained efforts to overcome them. But there is realization that the divisions originate from questions even more fundamental: the relation of the "order of creation" to the "order of redemption," the nature of the Church's visibility, the manner of Christ's union with the Church, the authentic Christian "tradition," the forms of Christian worship and the essentials inherent in Christ's institution of the Church. Questions of the Eucharist and of the ministry are being dealt with in connection with reunions of different churches. The question of the Eucharist, for instance, was exhaustively, if obscurely, dealt with by Lutherans and Reformed in Germany; episcopacy was dealt with in the report on Anglican-Presbyterian relations.

Two matters came up repeatedly and in almost every connection: the need of theology and the difficulty of communication. The need of theology was stressed by the committees on cooperation of men and women, on Church and society, religious liberty, evangelism, the laity, missions and other matters. The General Secretary, Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, was quoted as saying that one could not even draw up a budget for the World Council without considering theology.

#### DIFFICULTIES OF COMMUNICATION

The problem of communication rose frequently and in many forms. First there was the matter of the mere physical difficulties involved in meeting others and in distributing papers—not to say reading them. Probably no one single participant has read all the reports and animadversions on reports which were distributed.

Next, there was the difficulty of language. Three languages are official in the World Council: English, French and German; but, in fact, with very few exceptions, all the papers at this meeting were in English. Those who spoke in French, German and Russian had their talks translated sentence by sentence. For this reason, references were not infrequent to the tower of Babel and to the gift of Pentecost, which Bishop Dibelius pertinently said was a miracle of hearing rather than of speaking; it was what the listeners heard, and heard interiorly, that counted, and not the words as spoken. The deeper problem of communication was also mentioned: the manner of conveying Christian truths to non-Christians (a problem well-known to missiologists) and even of "baptizing" certain national or even pagan feasts. And there remains, of course, the more profound philosophical problem raised by the philosophers of linguistic analysis.

Two matters with which to end: the tradition that is developing in the World Council of Churches, and the theology undergirding it.

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tendency to cite the procedure or methods adopted in previous meetings of the Assembly and organs of the Council. Amsterdam (1948) and Evanston (1954) were definitely cited, though only as giving "guidance," and references were not infrequent to Lausanne (1927) and Edinburgh (1937).

It is clear to any observer, moreover, that certain manners of speech and ways of expressing differences of view are becoming almost traditional. This is an intangible, hard to put into words. The only concrete instance which springs to mind is that the Orthodox participants, though comparatively few in number, are heard more frequently and listened to with perhaps greater attention, and with possibly less understanding, than speakers of any of the Protestant communions. The very fact of the profound divergence of their outlook is accepted as a reason for greater consideration and attention. This does not, of course, mean more than willingness to hear the Orthodox doctrine. It may be added that Orthodox speakers generally are a credit to Orthodoxy and, possibly because of their independence of Rome, can secure a hearing for a sacramental outlook which would be less readily accepted coming from "Romans," in spite of the increased interest in and sympathy toward the Catholic position.

The "theology of the World Council" does not signify that the Council propounds any specific theology, beyond the conviction that the Church must be one, and manifestly one. It means that many connected with the movement, and notably the General Secretary, Dr. Visser 't Hooft, and with him many others, are uneasy lest a general spirit of charity, and the large measure of cooperation that exists, should become permanent and should in effect become an obstacle to attainment of the real unity which is so ardently desired.

#### THE QUESTION OF AUTHORITY

A question which is emerging as most practical and urgent is that of the relation of authority to power. The World Council is a purely consultative body. In its meetings the churches simply take counsel with one another, share their outlooks and try together to break the deadlocks that divide them. But the exact subjects on which mutual consultation is to be held, the form in which the subjects of consultation are to be presented, and the manner in which the common mind of the member churches is to be decided—these, and similar questions, demand expert knowledge and a regulated method of initiating discussion and of deciding issues, even though they be merely issues of procedure. The World Council of Churches, especially now in connection with its integration with the International Missionary Council, is developing a considerable corpus of what may quite fairly be called canon law.

Behind this development lies the fundamental ecclesiastical question of authority. There are many complicated questions which require expert knowledge or experience. Furthermore, selection of salient issues, method and time of presentation, avoidance of accepting the viewpoint of majorities as against that of minorities, whose convictions the World Council is pledged to

respect, the form in which the findings of committees or commissions are to be transmitted to the member churches for consideration or decision—all this depends to a large extent upon the permanent staff of the Council. A consultative body of over eighty members, however familiar with the general issues, inevitably tends to rely upon the knowledge and the experience of smaller specialized groups, and to leave to the permanent officials the nomination of experts and the establishment of their terms of reference.

At St. Andrews the impression was that the permanent officials were most anxious to do nothing without the approval of all the members of the Central Committee (who number eighty); and that, on the other hand, the majority of the Central Committee had a general disposition to trust the permanent officials and those who had expert knowledge. The latter tendency seems to me to have prevailed, though on some questions the experts were overruled. Speaking as an outsider, I would venture that this latter disposition appears to be right and wise. The leaders appear to me to be men of shining integrity; they are wholeheartedly devoted to the cause of unity, and they are men of considerable wisdom and foresight.

The problem, however, of the authority committed to the Council's leaders by the churches and of the theological foundation for that commitment (which concretely involves propagation of ideas and disposal, indirectly or directly, of considerable funds) is not yet resolved. In theory, the officials receive a mandate from the churches to continue the consultations and studies that are helpful to unity and to administer the funds given for interchurch aid and services to refugees. In practice, the nature of these studies and consultations, which depend so much on intangibles, is largely determined by the discretion of the permanent officials. The facts, I think, outrun the theological theory. This is only one instance that illustrates the desire oft-expressed, especially by the General Secretary, Dr. Visser 't Hooft, for a theology of the World Council.

There are, unquestionably, theological principles which apply to the intermediate situation in which the churches are seeking unity but have not found it. A situation which is admittedly transitory, however, can never find a coherent theology, which by its very definition presupposes a final and decisive institution of one Church by Christ.

#### PROGRESS TOWARD UNITY

Two questions are, perhaps, of special interest, and should occupy us next:

1. Is the World Council of Churches making any real progress toward unity?

2. What is its attitude toward the Catholic Church?

As to the first question, judgment about progress involves some estimate of the religious situation in the non-Catholic world, by reference to which progress must be appraised. For several centuries divisions and hostilities between groups of Christians have persisted, and have even grown; different doctrines and different systems of church government have intertwined them-

selves with "traditions," memories, language, national characteristics and even political outlooks. For long years Christianity was regarded as standing independent of any organization called a "church"; the invisible bond of charity was regarded as sufficient unity among Christians. Liberalism and individualism came to be accepted as almost axiomatic, and "denominations" proliferated.

Definite progress, however, has been made. Since 1937 there has been agreement that the crucial question is the question of the Church. The futility of "compromise" solutions is widely recognized, even though there may be different understandings of what "compromise" means. Mere recording of agreements and disagreements has been left behind. The effort is to find from Scripture and the early Church unassailable principles by which present divisions may be resolved. Above all, the conviction has grown even stronger, in spite of increased recognition of the difficulties, that division is wrong, and that unity in one sole Church is the will of God and an essential—if not the exclusive—ecumenical aim.

At the St. Andrews meeting a definition of the goal of the movement was given which effectively defines the Church, and which, as one official put it, "breaks through the ecclesiological sound barrier." It reads as follows:

The Faith and Order Commission understands that the unity which is both God's will and His gift to the Church is one which brings all in each place who confess Christ Jesus as Lord into a fully committed fellowship with one another through one baptism into Him, holding the one apostolic faith, preaching the one Gospel and breaking the one bread, and having a corporate life reaching out in witness and service to all; and which at the same time unites them with the whole Christian fellowship in all places and all ages in such ways that ministry and members are acknowledged by all, and that all can act and speak together as occasion requires for the tasks to which God calls the Church.

We recognize that the brief definition of our objective leaves many questions unanswered. In particular, we would state emphatically that the unity we seek is not one of uniformity, and that on the interpretation and the means of achieving certain of the matters specified in the preceding paragraph we are not yet of one mind.

This statement was accepted unanimously by the Faith and Order Commission and was commended by the Central Committee to the churches for their study and comment.

One other matter is indicative of increased desire for doctrinal orthodoxy: the "expansion" of the *Basis* of the WCC. Since the formation of the WCC in 1948 the *Basis* had read: "The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour." At the request of the Church of Norway, and of many of the Orthodox and of American Congregationalists, this has been expanded to read:

The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfill together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

The Central Committee expressed the belief that the expansion only makes explicit what had all along been implicit in the *Basis* (an instance, it may be noted, of a form of "development of doctrine") and that the expanded *Basis* is acceptable to member churches and to the member councils of the International Missionary Council.

These two signs indicate that there is a determination to give no grounds for the charge, made by groups hostile to the WCC, notably by the International Council of Christian Churches, of doctrinal relativism. The Faith and Order Commission is to be enlarged to 120 members, its director is to sit with those who guide the policy of the general body, and a special Conference of Faith and Order is to be held, at a place not yet specified, some time in 1963, when it is hoped that the subsidiary commissions, on Christ and the Church, Tradition and Traditions, Institutionalism and Ways of Worship, will have brought their reports to greater perfection.

In judging progress, however, account ought, above all, to be taken of the spirit which is gradually permeating through the churches: there is a recognition on the one hand that there must be no compromise of doctrine, and on the other that nondoctrinal factors are potent causes of the divisions. Common action in charitable works, of which there is much in the WCC, is recognized as a potent solvent of prejudices and misunderstandings; such action is held to help in the "renewal" of all the churches, which is admitted to be a necessary condition to unity.

#### WCC AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The official attitude of the WCC toward the Catholic Church has always been correct. No formal invitation to join the World Council has ever been proffered, but this, I conjecture, is due to realization that such an invitation might be mutually embarrassing, for a variety of reasons.

The title used by the World Council of Churches is always "the Roman Catholic Church"—which, of course, raises diverse and even fundamental issues. However, as Père Boyer has said, it is not about words that we must contend.

Two statements have recently been made relative to the Church, one by the Faith and Order Commission (many members of which are not members of the Central Committee), the other by the Central Committee. The Faith and Order statement noted that the commission is empowered to invite representatives of churches outside WCC membership "to serve in our commission, and so, by implication, on our theological commissions." The statement proceeds:

The Roman Catholic Church constitutes so large a part of Christendom that we are bound to take

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it into consideration in our work for Christian unity. But we realize the difficulties which arise, both from their side and from ours, to hinder any official or clearly defined relationship.

Yet Faith and Order is an aspect of the WCC in which the Roman Catholic Church has shown an interest. Roman Catholic theologians have made important contributions by their writings to the discussion of Faith and Order issues. We believe that this theological discussion should be pursued in whatever ways may be mutually acceptable.

The statement by the Executive Committee of the Central Committee was on broader lines:

The Ecumenical Council called by Pope John XXIII is meant to have considerable indirect influence on the ecumenical situation. Thus the Pope announced a new secretariat for the unity of Christians, under the presidency of Augustin Cardinal Bea and Monsignor Willebrands as its Secretary. Cardinal Bea has announced that the secretariat will have a double function; a) to enable non-Roman Catholics to follow the work of the Second Vatican Council; and b) to help the churches not in communion with Rome to arrive at unity with the Roman Catholic Church.

The Executive Committee drew two conclusions: first, that "the wholly negative attitude" manifest in Pius XI's *Mortalium Animos* of 1928 has changed to a recognition that "the ecumenical movement is not inspired by a vague humanitarianism, but by basic Christian convictions." Second, "the Vatican has now decided to become active in the ecumenical discourse. It will no longer leave all initiatives in this field to individual Roman Catholics, but begin to speak and act itself in relation to other churches and to the ecumenical organization."

The Executive Committee then made five observations:

1. "The fact that dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church becomes possible is to be welcomed."

2. It is hoped that informal discussions will not be entirely superseded by more official discussions.

3. No church need fear that the WCC will in any way seek to act or speak for its member churches in matters concerning church union. The WCC by its constitution is not authorized to act for the churches in such matters.

4. "The WCC may, however, use such opportunities as may present themselves to make known to the new secretariat certain basic convictions which have been expressed by the Assembly or Central Committee (v.g., issues of religious liberty, of Christian social action, etc.)."

5. It should be remembered that the creation of the secretariat does not mean that any of the fundamental differences which exist between the Roman Catholic Church and the churches in the WCC have been solved. The opportunity for dialogue is to be grasped, but it means that the real problems will come to the fore. Our task in that dialogue will be to represent the insights which God has given us together in the fifty years since our movement was started."

The committee also said that "the full meaning of these developments will only become clear in the coming years."

My own feeling is that this statement of the Executive Committee did not take enough account of the Instruction of the Holy Office in 1949, though I must in honesty confess that I think some Catholics also failed to ponder the implications of that fundamental document, from which the erection of the new secretariat is a normal and natural development. Certainly the choice of Cardinal Bea and of Monsignor Willebrands is a cause of joy; for Cardinal Bea has had long and varied experience in international contacts, and his scholarship in Scripture has given him prestige and acquaintance with many other scholars, an acquaintance verging towards personal friendship. Monsignor Willebrands has for some years been secretary of a group of Catholic scholars interested in ecumenism, and he has won wide esteem and trust because of his knowledge, discretion and tact.

#### CLIMATE OF CHARITY

Spectacular results are not to be expected. But it is clear that there has been a change in climate. On the Catholic side, Pope John XXIII has repeatedly stressed the importance of charity and of a spirit of understanding. Perhaps I do not exaggerate if I say that Catholic "watchdogs" have been given a hint that the function of guide-dogs does not ill become them.

On the non-Catholic side things have also changed. The Orthodox are solicitous about their youth in this new "atomic" and mechanized age. Old labels no longer apply to our separated brethren of "Protestant" traditions: "liberal," "conservative," "evangelical," "fundamentalist," "neo-orthodox" and similar designations are becoming outmoded. Chalcedon—by the Commissions of Faith and Order—is taken as a fixed point of departure. Books about Catholicism are multiplying: Von Lowenich, Jaroslav Pelican, K. E. Skydsgaard, Oscar Cullmann and Robert McAfee Brown are examples. Interest, friendly or unfriendly, has grown; they want to know what makes the Catholic Church "tick," even though they do not as yet see that it keeps the right time. Scripture and tradition are seen, more and more, as interdependent; scholars from the Free Churches are studying the Fathers. Newly independent churches in Asia and Africa are impatient of denominationalism—indeed, they can scarcely control their indignation when condemning it—and the youth of many churches, including the Orthodox churches, are likewise impatient.

Doubtless the new openness to Catholic ideas is often accompanied by deeply rooted hesitations, suspicions and antagonism. The way back may be winding, rocky, precipitous and liable to landslides and avalanches. But the foolishness of God is wiser than men, the weakness of God is stronger than men; and because of this, and this alone, we may advance with confidence, under the guidance of our Holy Father and of those whom he has appointed to carry out his plans, along the ways of charity, of truth and of reconciliation.

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# BOOKS

## Aspects of Political Thought

### THE SUPREME COURT AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

By Osmond K. Fraenkel. Oceana Publications. 173p. \$2.95 (cloth), \$1.50 (paper)

The author of this volume has been general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union during more than half of its 40 years of existence. This re-issue of a pamphlet originally put out in 1937 and now published in cooperation with ACLU, is a series of thumbnail sketches of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions on the principal guarantees of the Bill of Rights.

From this all-too-brief and often oversimplified summary of the hundreds of complex cases which the Supreme Court has decided involving the Bill of Rights, there emerges a rather clear picture of the philosophy of the ACLU. In fact, the author has assisted the reader in putting together ACLU's outlook by his list of more than six hundred Supreme Court decisions, with a star for those "favorable to civil liberties" and the blackmark of no star for those "unfavorable" to civil liberties! While this rather naive classification may cause students of constitutional law to smile, it none the less provides one with a view into the inner logic—if there is a logic—of the ACLU hierarchy. Although drawing inferences about ACLU's philosophy from the blacklisting of certain Supreme Court decisions is interesting, one none the less wonders why this influential group indulges in so unsophisticated a method of advancing what it conceives to be civil liberty. Can any good be achieved by reducing complex decisions of the Supreme Court to "good" and "bad"? Can any good result from classifying the 1879 *Reynolds* case, which outlawed bigamy, as "unfavorable to civil liberties"?

Even though one desires to be sympathetic to ACLU, one is inclined to agree with the comment in the preface, by Dean Joseph O'Meara of the Notre Dame Law School, to the effect that sometimes ACLU "makes itself look foolish."

In the Church-State area Mr. Fraenkel reasserts without explanation the ACLU position. He stars the *McCollum* decision as favorable to civil liberties and lists the *Everson* opinion (which

allowed bus rides to parochial school children) and the *Zorach* ruling (which permitted off-the-premises released time religious education) as "unfavorable" to civil liberties. Unfortunately, the author's review of these cases is done in 26 lines, on less than one page, in a passage reproduced from his 1952 booklet on this same subject. ACLU has, of course, not changed its policies since it hailed the *McCollum* opinion in 1948 as a great triumph for civil liberties.

The Church-State cases starred as "favorable" reflect ACLU's conviction that most varieties of religious practices, however eccentric, should be legally tolerated, but that the State itself should take no position either for religion or irreligion.

In summary, one can fairly conclude from Mr. Fraenkel's volume that ACLU, by opposing virtually every type of cooperation between government and religion, has adopted an attitude which places the state on the side of those who teach as one of their basic doctrines the irrelevance and unimportance of religion in the public life of our nation. Mr. Fraenkel's volume is additional proof that ACLU is striving for the "establishment" of secularism.

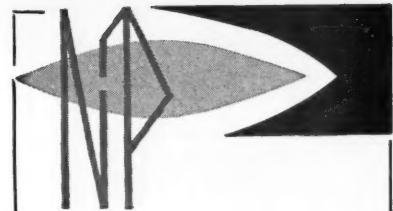
ROBERT F. DRINAN

### AUSTRIAN CATHOLICS AND THE FIRST REPUBLIC: Democracy, Capitalism and the Social Order, 1918-1934

By Alfred Diamant. Princeton U. Press. 325p. \$6.50

The history of the first Austrian Republic, from its establishment in 1918 through 1938, when Hitler marched into the country, was stormy and tragic. The coalition of the two main parties, the Catholic Christian Socialists and the Marxist Social Democrats, which guided the republic through its initial period, soon fell apart and the country began to drift into a situation of latent civil war, which in 1934 turned into open armed conflict.

In 1933 Engelbert Dollfuss, the Christian Social Chancellor, suspended the democratic constitution and in the following year promulgated a new constitution which was based upon authoritarian and corporative ideas. These ideas were generally assumed to have



## THE MISSIONARY'S ROLE IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC BETTERMENT

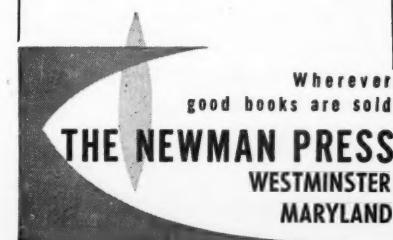
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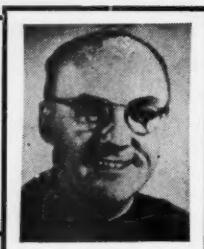
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been taken over from the Fascist philosophy and system of government. Indeed, Italian fascism undeniably played its part in shaping Austrian politics in those eventful years. After all, leading members of the *Heimwehren* who unabashedly advocated the adoption and imitation of Fascist goals and methods held important posts in Dollfuss' Cabinet. However, those familiar with Austrian history realized from the beginning that the true origin of the authoritarian and corporative ideas of 1934 was to be looked for in Austrian conservative political doctrines rather than in Italian fascism.

The proof of this native influence is contained in the present book. In a masterly way, Alfred Diamant, associate professor of political science at the University of Florida, shows that the conceptions that went into the Constitution of 1934 can be traced back



through and, in a sense, have been the culmination of, the history of Austrian Catholic thought, political and social, in the 19th and 20th centuries. He also explains why, contrary to the development in German Catholicism, anti-democratic and anticapitalistic tendencies remained so strong in Austrian Catholicism until World War II.

Prof. Diamant's book is a most valuable contribution to the history of political ideas in European Catholicism. Being a survey of various schools of thought, the book testifies to the multiplicity of political and social views which, the religious unity of the Church notwithstanding, can be and are held by faithful Catholics.

ERICH HULA

### New Deal Revolution

#### THE POLITICS OF UPHEAVAL

By Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. Houghton Mifflin. 749p. \$6.95

This third volume of Arthur Schlesinger's *The Age of Roosevelt* is the story of the turbulent political years of 1934 to 1936. This is the period of the changeover from the First New Deal, when its organic planned economy was scrapped with the famed Blue Eagle, and a kind of pragmatic, experimental

collectivism along with free enterprise was inaugurated as a substitute, which the author calls the Second New Deal. How and why all this came about is the theme of this history, which is narrated in the most vivid and dramatic fashion. The author's astute judgment, skillful organization and unsurpassed literary talent recreates for the American reader these vibrant years with such intensity and clarity, as well as downright suspense, that few will set the book aside.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I, "The Theology of Ferment," concerns itself with the rise of the demagogues—Long, Coughlin and Townsend, along with some lesser agitators and politicians. Incipient Fascists, Socialists and Communists are all adequately reported in masterful vignettes. But most important, the author advances a view on native American radicalism as a bona fide part of the national character.

Part II, "The Coming of the Second New Deal," treats the pragmatic politics and utter lack of ideology surrounding the dumping of the first New Dealers. This section is a combination of economic and political analyses: that is, the author submits his basic contention that America had come to the parting of the ways with a system of centralized directed economy, whether Fascist or Socialist, and chose under the leadership of F. D. R. to solve its economic problems by adopting a "middle way" or a "mixed economy."

This decision was not without a terrible struggle, and Part III, "The Crisis of the Constitution," develops that struggle along legal lines, wherein entrenched capitalism obdurately refused political overtures to aid in the economic rescue of the nation. And the last part, "The Campaign of 1936," is a resounding and climactic vindication by the people of the political leadership and economic decisions invoked by F. D. R. to overcome the slough of despond and stark tragedy of the Great Depression.

Of course the hero of this domestic history is Franklin D. Roosevelt. Sidney Hook's *The Hero in History*, which exploded the theory of historical determinism in relation to the role of heroes in history, could have been Schlesinger's guide in delineating the pragmatic leadership of F. D. R.

But surprisingly, there is little of the hero in these pages. Unfair critics of previously published volumes have had a flair for dismissing author Schlesinger on the grounds of his bias toward F. D. R. Some bias, indeed, is to be expected, but the author has proved

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his fairness as an historian, and it is worth repeating that little of the hero is recorded in these pages. His (F. D. R.'s) spirit does hover throughout, but he remains an enigma. His greatness requires no proof from the pen of the historian, and no one knows this better than Schlesinger himself, who wrote:

The American people, in recording in 1936 so astonishing a vote of confidence in the New Deal, were by no means endorsing everything that had taken place in the tumultuous years since March 4, 1933. But they were voting unmistakably for the capacity of a representative democracy under strong leadership to produce energetic, resourceful and free government in the face of an economic holocaust. And their vote came at a time when, throughout the West, faith in government by the people—faith in free society itself—was flickering and fading.

And it may be added that the people's instinct for greatness was confirmed by this occasion—and again, and again.

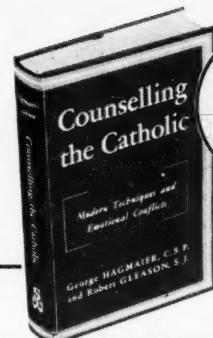
MATTHEW M. McMAHON

### Fine Regional History

SEEDTIME ON THE CUMBERLAND  
By Harriette Simpson Arnow. Macmillan.  
449p. \$7.50

The Reformation was still a vital force when pioneers were settling along the Cumberland River during the American Revolution. Their attitudes toward religion, government and their fellow men were different, says Harriette Simpson Arnow, from those of the old South, whence most of them came. These attitudes included a desire for separation of Church and State and recognition, as far as middle Tennessee was concerned, of the human dignity of the Indians. They had no unbridled hatred of their enemies, even while they scalped and killed to hold on to the land they were wresting from the red men. There were brief intervals of friendship with the Cherokees and Chickasaws and with individual Indians, and each race learned from the other. The settlers' corn economy, for instance, was inspired by Indian agricultural skill.

The farmer-borderer-hunter and unpaid soldier who settled the Southwest, and who lost most of what his pioneering had won when State government, land speculators and the Land Office moved in, was usually a Bible-reading Protestant, given to the singing of Isaac Watt's hymns. Some were refugees



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# AMERICA'S Book-Log

## THE TEN BEST-SELLING BOOKS FOR SEPTEMBER

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and Robert W. Gleason, S.J. Sheed & Ward, \$4.50
2. **THE CATHOLIC MARRIAGE MANUAL** By George A. Kelly. Random House, \$4.95
3. **THE CATHOLIC YOUTH'S GUIDE TO LIFE AND LOVE**  
By George A. Kelly. Random House, \$3.95
4. **THE NIGHT THEY BURNED THE MOUNTAIN** By Thomas A. Dooley, M.D. Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, \$3.95
5. **MARY WAS HER LIFE** By Sister Mart Pierre, R.S.M. Benziger, \$3.95
6. **LOVE ONE ANOTHER** By Louis Colin, C.S.S.R. Newman, \$4.25
7. **A TRAPPIST WRITES HOME** By Gerard McGinley, O.C.S.O. Bruce, \$3.25
8. **CHRISTIAN YOGA** By J. M. Dechanet, O.S.B. Harper, \$3.75
9. **SPIRITUAL HIGHLIGHTS FOR SISTERS**  
By Bruno M. Hagspiel, S.V.D. Bruce, \$3.95
10. **GROWTH IN HOLINESS** By Frederick W. Faber. Newman, \$4.00

The stores listed below report their best-selling books during the current month. Popularity is estimated both by the frequency with which a book is mentioned and by its relative position in each report. The point system, plus the geographical spread of the stores, gives a good view of Catholic reading habits. Appreciation for the service can best be shown by patronizing the stores.

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 BOSTON, Benziger Bros., Inc., 95 Summer St.  
 CHICAGO, The Thomas More Association, 210 W. Madison St.  
 CINCINNATI, Benziger Bros., Inc., 429 Main St.  
 CINCINNATI, Frederick Pustet Co., Inc., 210 E. Fourth St.  
 CLEVELAND, Catholic Book Store, 1789 E. 11th St.  
 CLEVELAND, William Taylor Son & Co., 630 Euclid Ave.  
 COLUMBUS, Cathedral Book Shop, 205 E. Broad St.  
 DALLAS, The Catholic Book Store, 1513 Elm St.  
 DENVER, James Clarke Church Goods House, 1633 Tremont Pl.  
 DETROIT, E. J. McDevitt Co., 1230 Washington Blvd.  
 DETROIT, Van Antwerp Catholic Library and Pamphlet Shop, 1232 Washington Blvd.  
 GRAND RAPIDS, McGough & Son Co., 40 Division Ave., S.  
 HARRISBURG, The Catholic Shop, 410 No. Third St.  
 HARTFORD, Catholic Library of Hartford, 125 Market St.  
 HOLYOKE, Catholic Lending Library and Bookshop, 94 Suffolk St.  
 KANSAS CITY, Mo., Catholic Community Bookshop, 301 East Armour Blvd.  
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 NASHVILLE, St. Mary's Book Store, 508 Deaderick St.  
 NEW BEDFORD, Keatings Book House 562 County St.  
 NEW HAVEN, The Saint Thomas More Gift Shop, 1102 Chapel St.

NEW YORK, Ave Maria Shop, 11 Barclay St.  
 NEW YORK, Benziger Bros., Inc., 6-8 Barclay St.  
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 OKLAHOMA CITY, St. Thomas More Book Stall, 320 N. W. 2nd St.  
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from persecution in the new world as well as in the old. They had left behind taxation for support of the Church of England; opposition to it was at the root of Church-State convictions and helped to account for indifference to formalized religion and even to baptism. Worship, like the rest of frontier life, centered in the home.

There is an occasional French Catholic, like the hunter-trader Jacques de Monbruen, who was identified with the region for more than 40 years, but the predominant racial strains were English and Scotch, along with some German, Dutch, French Huguenot and Scotch-Irish.

The scope of *Seedtime on the Cumberland* is large, going back into prehistory for a look at the seas that shaped the rocks and deposited the earth of the Cumberland country. It touches lightly on the coming of the Jesuits in 1611, and on memorable pictures of Indian life left by missionary explorers. The book notes the sufferings of the missionaries, but the main story concerns the dogged work of the settlement, beginning in 1780 and extending into the first years of the 19th century. While fighting Indians, the "borderers" felled trees for log cabins and simple household goods, planted fields, hunted and cared for livestock. Wives and large families of children shared the toil, sufferings and, often, the warfare. Many were killed and precious homes were lost, but "always somebody stayed."

MARJORIE HOLLIGAN

### SEAN O'CASEY: THE MAN AND HIS WORK

By David Krause. Macmillan. 340p. \$4.50

Few will deny Sean O'Casey's place among the major dramatists of our century (least of all Mr. Krause, who worships the man this side of idolatry). The present study of the fiery and controversial Irishman is the first full-length analysis of the playwright's work in the theatre and of the backgrounds out of which his peculiar talents sprang. And Krause has done well by his subject, for this is in many ways an eminently satisfactory book. Indeed, it may well stand as the definitive work on O'Casey.

Among the many good things in this very good book may be mentioned the author's first-rate exposition of the *Silver Tassie* incident which caused the rupture between the playwright and the Abbey Theatre. Krause defends cogently and well O'Casey's right to

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experiment with dramatic forms and techniques. He places the blame for the whole unhappy affair squarely where it belongs: at the doorstep of W. B. Yeats, whose growing interest in an esoteric theatre of symbol and ritual blinded him to any other form of experimentation.

Mr. Krause, committed to what amounts to special pleading, does, one thinks, somewhat overemphasize the dramatic values of the later plays; and his somewhat rhapsodic praise of *Purple Dust* is hard to believe in a critic whose taste is on the whole impeccable. He likewise finds comic values in such plays as *The Bishop's Bonfire* and *Cock-a-Doodle Dandy*, which are questionable, to say the least. On the whole, however, the criticism and analysis are above reproach, and the author's division of the plays into three major groupings—tragicomedies, plays of prophecy and comedies—is critically sound.

If Mr. Krause proves himself an excellent drama critic, the same cannot, unfortunately, be said of him as a critic of Irish manners and morals. Here we find his approach something less than objective. In his efforts to demonstrate O'Casey's greatness in the theatre, Krause takes upon himself the task of indicting Irish society as the villain of the piece. Not satisfied with proving that the playwright is a major contributor to the contemporary stage, Mr. Krause must prove him a martyr as well. In his strictures upon Irish censorship, upon the unholy alliance between "Christ and Caesar," which, quoting Joyce, he insists upon, he wanders rather far afield from the subject he is treating.

None of us who are interested in the contemporary state of Irish letters was particularly edified by the unhappy decision of the Tostal committee in 1958, by which O'Casey's *Drums of Father Ned* and a dramatization of a section of *Ulysses* were rejected for production at the Dublin Drama Festival. But Krause labors the point, and drags in also the rather ridiculous decision of the authorities to arrest the Dublin producer of Tennessee Williams' *The Rose Tattoo*, after a performance in 1957. Granted that unfortunate attitudes do exist in present-day Ireland, granted that government censorship does bring forth some strange and almost unbelievable results, one can only say that Mr. Krause devotes an inordinate amount of space in his book to these matters, and some of his remarks about Irish Catholicism are in extremely poor taste.

STEPHEN P. RYAN

#### FROM LENIN TO KHRUSHCHEV By Hugh Seton-Watson Praeger. 432p. \$6

One of the first books which the serious student of communism should read is the author's *From Lenin to Malenkov* (1953). However, events move rapidly in the Communist world. Prof. Seton-Watson has therefore revised and updated his history of world communism, extending both title and treatment to Khrushchev.

Communist history cannot be confined to Russia or the Soviet Union. It must necessarily take in the satellite and especially China. The Communist goal is world communization, and so Kremlin events have repercussions even in remote African jungles, as Prof. Seton-Watson is at pains to point out in his survey.

To trace these involvements under diverse social conditions, in varied economic and intellectual circumstances, is no easy task. The final history of any phase of communism in any one country has still to be written. Yet *From Lenin to Khrushchev* offers an excellent bird's-eye view of both body and tentacles of this ominous 20th-century octopus.

The last two chapters of the book are new. In these the changes in the Communist regimes are described and the impact of the Khrushchev line in non-Communist countries is explored. As a brief résumé of events, they are fine; but they do fall short of complete analysis.

For instance, the author's statement that the "decentralization" reforms in industry inaugurated by Khrushchev in 1957 were "a blow against the managers" (p. 365) can be argued. Managers are still much in demand in the growing industrial life of the Soviet Union. Many graduate engineers are absorbed into management; some of the returned prisoners, condemned in Stalin's time, were rehabilitated precisely because their skills were sorely needed.

The value of keeping this fundamental history up to date lies chiefly in the fact that it throws a continuing spotlight on the many activities of the Communist conspiracy. But because it focuses primarily on the activities of the Communists themselves, it often bypasses very important and related activities in and by the non-Communist world. (Witness the judicious side-stepping of the Marshall Mission to China, p. 275, note.) These gaps will have to be filled in by the reader from other sources, many of which are listed in the bibliography. But for its content

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as well as for its copious references, *From Lenin to Khrushchev* will continue to be a fundamental work in any study of world communism today.

WALTER C. JASKEVICZ

### CHRIST IN RUSSIA

By Helene Iswolsky. Bruce. 223p. \$3.95

Anyone looking for shabby sensationalism, one more facile exposure of communism and godlessness, need not look here. But if he wants to enter the Russian Christian soul, he would be hard put to find a guide comparable to Miss Iswolsky. Born in Russia of a Russian Orthodox family, educated both in Russia before the revolution and abroad, she has for years written and lectured authoritatively on this, her great love.

Miss Iswolsky's thesis is that our Cold War view of Russia is necessarily myopic. Accustomed (rightly) to see Soviet Russia as a peril, we overlook the older Russia, our Christian brother. This volume offers us the corrective lens.

A little more than half the book is given to a succinct, perceptive sketch of Russian history, especially Russian sacred history, done with an objectivity warmed by compassion. Even the barest facts somehow glow here with sympathy; one senses that the author has lived them. Brevity has its risks, and slight exception may be taken to the account of the origin and development of the Russian alphabet and language on pp. 19-22. But this is minor, and arguable.

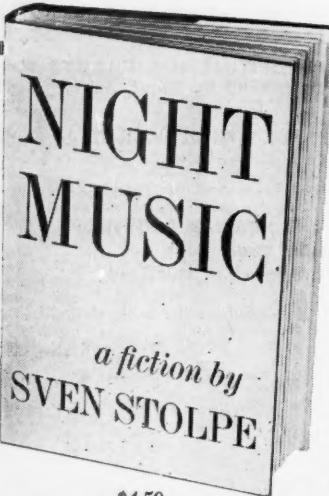
Part Two presents "The Russian Church in Tradition and Life" and is, as expected, the more original contribution. The Russian Christian life and devotions are shown by one who has deeply shared in them. As Soloviev expressed it, "The Russian people believe in Christ and in our Lady: these are the foundations of everything."

Once the Christ of glory, the Byzantine Pantokrator, the great focus of devotion later became the suffering Christ, the *kenotic*, humiliated and comforting Saviour. Russia's "chief school of Christianity," wrote Dostoevski, "was the ages of endless suffering." No wonder that the "Prayer of Jesus" endlessly repeated, seems so poignantly suited to the Russian soul: "Our Lord, Jesus Christ, have pity on us, sinners."

Centered around the divine liturgy, Russian love of the *Bogoroditza*, "God's Mother," is tender, poetic and dogmatic. Ikons of our Lady holding her Son are the sacred hearth of the Russian Christian home.

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\*FATHER HAROLD C. GARDINER, S.J., says: "Sven Stolpe . . . studies a family in a country in which communism is lurking just around the corner to take over the government. . . . This is not, however, a political novel, but one of gradual and painful awakening within the family [of the Prime Minister] of the true values of love, self-sacrifice and sound patriotism. It is especially good and moving in its capturing of the restlessness of the young people who are thirsting for challenging ideas to live up to. . . . A thoughtful and dramatic study of wisdom and impetuosity played out against a somber backdrop of communism's role as ape of God." —in America

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A select bibliography will initiate the reader to a fascinating world. It includes works that have recently brought about significant revaluations of the East-West rift: books of Dvornik, Congar, Schmemann, for instance. Unfortunately, Fr. Joseph Gill's definitive study of the Council of Florence must have come out too late to be mentioned.

Whoever is seriously interested in liturgy, the spiritual life, the ecumenical movement and our suffering brethren, will want to read *Christ in Russia* as well as Miss Iswolsky's earlier *Soul of Russia*. The present book is the current selection of the Catholic Book Club.

C. J. McNASPY

#### SAINTS OF RUSSIA

By Constantin de Grunwald. Macmillan.  
180p. \$3.50

About fifty years ago the old Russian ikons were "discovered." Now they are appreciated and admired everywhere as treasures of art. The same thing has happened to the Russian saints. Only a few decades ago their individual lives and outstanding virtues were thoroughly analyzed at a scholarly level and became widely known, thanks chiefly to the researches of Prof. Golubinsky, Prof. Fedotoff and Fr. Kologrivov.

Recently the Russian saints attracted the attention of Constantin de Grunwald, who has written this winning book about them. Mr. de Grunwald, a Russian, studied at the University of St. Petersburg (his native town), and after the revolution he settled in Paris, where he wrote a series of excellent historical monographs on Nicholas I, Peter the Great, Metternich and others and became a laureate of the French Academy.

In his *Saints of Russia* de Grunwald studies the lives of ten of the most important Russian saints, beginning with St. Vladimir, who baptized Russia in 988, and ending with St. Seraphim of Sarov, a great saint of the 19th century. He has carefully examined their deeds, thoughts and feelings. He offers a vivid, correct and concise picture of their spiritual and physical gifts, their surroundings and background.

In spite of its modest size, the book can be very useful. The late Dom Clement Lialine, Russian Benedictine of Chevetogne and prominent worker in the Russian Catholic field, wrote in 1955: "Every day I am more and more convinced that the Christian West has never well understood the nature of Orthodoxy." We fully agree with this

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#### KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

LAS	Arts and Sciences	FS	Foreign Service	Mu	Music	SF	Sister Formation
AE	Adult Education	G	Graduate School	N	Nursing	Sy	Seismology Station
A	Architecture	HS	Home Study	P	Pharmacy	Sp	Speech
C	Commerce	IR	Industrial Relations	PT	Physical Therapy	T	Theatre
D	Dentistry	J	Journalism	RT	Radio-TV	AROTC	Army
DH	Dental Hygiene	L	Law	S	Social Work	NROTC	Navy
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statement, but we hope that the situation may change. Books like *Saints of Russia* can contribute to hasten the change.

There is more. A union between two Churches, each having its own saints, is hardly imaginable. Normally, union has to be preceded or accompanied by mutual recognition of saints. Five of the ten saints Mr. de Grunwald writes about are already recognized by Rome. Let us hope his book will help to extend this recognition to many other saints, including also those who lived and worked after the Council of Florence.

N. BOCK, S.J.

## THE WORD

*Being in fellowship with and reverently bringing to mind, first, the ever glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . (The Commemoration of the Saints, in the Canon of the Mass).*

Thus far in the Canon of the Mass we have consciously put ourselves in union with the whole Church militant. We have prayed for the Church herself, for the Holy Father, for our Bishop, for all who share our Catholic faith, for the living, for all who are present at this Mass. Now, with a lyric leap, the liturgy makes contact with the Church triumphant. Of course we do not pray for the glorious ones whom we now recall. We pray to them, or, more exactly, through them.

The initial words of this prayer merit attention: *Communicantes et memoria venerantes* (*Communicating with and venerating the memory of . . .*). The first participle contains that Catholic doctrine which we mention every time we say the Creed—the Communion of Saints. Not by way of metaphor but in sober, theological and ontological reality we on earth are actually *in fellowship with* the victorious crowned in heaven as well as with the saved who, in purgatory, are still undergoing their final purification. The second phrase of the present liturgical passage prompts the liturgists to remark the steady occurrence, in the Canon of the Mass, of words of remembrance: *memoriam, memento, memorare* (*memory, remember, mindful*). We cannot too often remind ourselves that the Mass is a solemn reminder.

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